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East & West

*And East and West, without a breath,
Mixt their dim lights, like Life and Death,
To broaden into boundless day.*

—TENNYSON.

VOL. II. No. 23.

SEPTEMBER, 1903.

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EAST & WEST.

VOL.

SEPTEMBER, 1903.

NO. 23.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

THE greatest material boon which could be conferred on India would be the restoration of her industries. The greatest material calamity which can befall India is that which has been going on for so many years before our eyes—the continual contraction of her manufactures. The agricultural trade of India has expanded, but her manufactures have diminished: the imports of cotton piece goods, which forty years ago were valued at 8½ millions sterling, now exceed 20 millions: the ancient weaving industry has been practically extinguished and the local manufactures of the country have been crushed out by British competition. The tendency of events for more than a century has been to turn the people more and more towards agriculture and less and less to manufactures. While the invention of steam engines and the development of machinery enormously cheapened the cost of production in England, the operation of transit duties in India, amounting to £450,000 per annum, and of heavy and ruinous import duties in England, amounting to 67 per cent., and more, on the value of cotton and silk goods, combined to repress all the exertions of local industry. These duties, which were deliberately imposed in order to enable English manufacturers to undersell the Indian artisan, have long ago been repealed, but they did their work. The introduction of Manchester goods has been accompanied by the collapse of indigenous industries.

Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, a Director of the Honourable East India Company, wrote as long ago as 1823:—

“What is the commerce which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent., but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery,

the cotton fabrics, which hitherto continued the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asian possessions. India is thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing country to that of an agricultural country."

Even more emphatic is the verdict of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, the historian of India :—

"It was stated in evidence (1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of Indian manufactures. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated, would have imposed prohibitive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

And yet the manufactures of India were once in a highly flourishing condition. The Mogul Courts encouraged large towns and urban enterprise. European traders were first attracted to India not by its raw products but by its manufactured wares. It was the industrial "wealth of Ormuz and Ind" that dazzled the eyes of western nations and sent them in search of a passage to that land of fabulous prosperity. Large portions of the Indian population were engaged in various industries down to the close of the eighteenth century. In the palmy days of the Honourable East India Company a certain part of the revenues of the country was set aside to be employed in the purchase of goods for exportation to England, which was called the investment. But the commercial agents of the Company were not engaged in exploiting the resources of the soil, and the "up-country investment" was entirely devoted to the purchase of manufactures. Nor was India at that time dependent on its maritime

commerce. The inland trade was very considerable. The fame of the fine muslins of Bengal, her rich silks and brocades, her harmonious cotton prints, had spread far and wide in Asia as well as Europe. "The Bengal silks, cloths, etc.," writes Mr. Verelst, who was Governor of Bengal before Hastings, "were dispersed to a vast amount to the west and north, inland as far as Guzerat, Lahore and even Ispahan." The Indian cities were populous and magnificent. When Clive entered Murshidabad, the old capital of Bengal, he wrote of it :— "This city is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city." All the arts then flourished, and with them urban life. Now, out of a population of three hundred millions, only 7 per cent. live in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. In Ireland, that unfortunate annex of the British dominions, the proportion is 20·8, in Scotland it is 50·2, and in England and Wales it is 67·5. An overwhelming majority of the people of India live in rural villages, and the colonies of workmen who were settled in the large towns have been broken up.

I will cite as an example the city of Dacca. It was during the time of the Mogul Government that this city reached the zenith of its prosperity. When it passed under British administration the population was estimated at two hundred thousand souls. In 1787 the exports of Dacca muslin to England amounted to £300,000 ; in 1817 they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving, which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrious population, have now become extinct. Families which were formerly in a state of affluence have been reduced to penury : the majority of the people have been driven to desert the town and betake themselves to the villages for a livelihood. The present population of the town of Dacca is slowly increasing, but it is only 90,500. This decadence has occurred in all parts of India, and not a year passes in which the local officers do not bring to the notice of Government that the manufacturing classes are becoming impoverished.

The most profitable Indian industries have been destroyed and the most valuable Indian arts have greatly deteriorated. Dyeing, carpet-making, fine embroidery, jewellery, metal work, the damascening of arms, carving, paper-making, even architecture and sculpture have decayed. "There is no class," exclaims Sir James Caird, "which

our rule has pressed harder upon than the native weaver and artisan." I doubt whether the public at large has any conception of the deplorably small proportion of persons in India who are dependent on art or commerce or mechanical production, or working or dealing in mineral products. The figures cannot be ascertained with precise accuracy, but I work out the proportion at about 15 per cent. in India against about 80 per cent. in the United Kingdom. The economic problem of India is the poverty of her people. The development of petty occupations and menial employment, the establishment of large industries capitalised by Englishmen, even the accumulation of silver which has so depreciated in value, the increased use of brass pots, cheap cotton cloths and umbrellas among the people, afford but a poor compensation for the variety of social and industrial life once spread through the country. The dimensions of Indian trade are not inconsiderable, and yet no country is more poor. The economic conditions upon which material prosperity depends are lacking. An India supplying England with its raw products and in its turn dependent upon England for all its more important manufactures is not a spectacle which is likely to reconcile an Indian patriot to the loss of the subtle and refined oriental arts, the very secret of which has passed away ; to the disappearance of innumerable weavers who have perished from starvation or have sunk for ever to the lot of agricultural labourers ; or to the sacrifice of that constructive genius and mechanical ability which designed the canal system of Upper India and the Taj at Agra.

It is true that railways, cotton mills and jute mills, gold mining and coal mining, oil wells and refineries, have lately come into existence. But with the exception of most of the cotton mills and a few of the coal mines, the operations are in alien hands : the capital is British and the profits do not remain in India. It is true also that in some minor trades and industrial professions there has been an increase in recent years. There are more shoemakers now, more carpenters, more tailors, more blacksmiths. The demand for shoes, furniture, clothes, iron-ware and the like, has increased. New wants have arisen, and facilities have been afforded for their gratification. The immense cheapening of cotton piece-goods and of other articles imported from Europe cannot be without its benefit to the country. But all this is not inconsistent with the growing poverty of the people to which the unanimous testimony of Indian observers

bears witness. This has been the theme of every National and Provincial Congress for the past eighteen years. It is supported by the evidence of Indian merchants and traders who are convinced from their business experience that the struggle for existence is greater than it was before. Official opinion admits this in regard to artisans, but denies it in respect of the great mass of the population, the agricultural classes. The official verdict affirms that the material prosperity of the people generally has improved. This verdict is directly opposed to educated Indian opinion, and a battle royal rages between the contending camps. In any case, there is no question that the people of India are miserably poor. They are absolutely and relatively poor. It is enough to repeat Lord Curzon's estimate that the average annual income per head of the population is about £2 per annum. For my part, I may be allowed to say that I believe in no general improvement. There has undoubtedly been improvement in some places; in Eastern Bengal, for instance, where the people are favoured with a fertile soil and a permanent settlement, where the demand for jute is practically unlimited and the rainfall never fails; in Burmah, where with so much waste land there has been a vast extension of rice cultivation; and in tracts, such as those in the Punjab and elsewhere, which have been fertilised by irrigation. But I can find no signs of general improvement. The increasing number of famines and the terrible mortality which results from them, in spite of all the exertions of the Government and the heroic effort of individual officers, are—if there were no other evidence—an overwhelming demonstration that the capacity of the people to maintain themselves is on the decline. It is no argument to reply that there was heavy mortality from famine in ancient times. There was: the rains failed then as they fail now, the crops withered, and the people perished because there was no food to support them. There was then no means of conveying food to the afflicted province. But now, with improved communications, there is never any deficiency in the supply of food. The failure of the rains no longer means famine, for grain can be and always is imported into the distressed tracts. Famine ensues because the people are too poor to buy food. We no longer hear the old story of crowds perishing with money in their hands. At the same time, owing to improved communications, the reserves of food-grain have every-

where been depleted. The old custom was for the peasantry to keep among themselves three-quarters of a year's supply. Now the surplus is always exported, and there are no stores to fall back upon in the hour of need. The deficiency is imported at a price the people cannot afford to pay. The reason why famines are more frequent now than formerly and more severe, is that the resources of the people are less able to resist them.

The increasing poverty of India is due to many causes, but primarily I trace it to the decay of handicrafts and the substitution of foreign for home manufactures. It is due also to the extension of agriculture. Every exertion is made to augment the area under cultivation with staple crops, and the increase in the amount of agricultural produce exported is pointed to as irrefragable proof of increased national prosperity. It is a proof of the reverse. Foreign markets are forced and commodities are sold at a lower rate—take tea, for example—and bought at a higher price than would otherwise be necessary. The export trade has indeed been developed at a great cost, and in the meanwhile the soil of the country has been impoverished by overcropping, and the breed of cattle is deteriorating from want of pasturage. The blessing has been withheld from the parched fields. Nor, unfortunately, does the profit from increased exports find its way, as it should, to the pockets of the cultivators. On the contrary, they receive but little of it themselves, for their crops are ordinarily mortgaged before being harvested, and the profit goes to middlemen. In all times, no doubt, the bulk of the Indian population has been agricultural, but formerly the cultivators were not wholly dependent on agriculture. They had home industries which employed their leisure when labour in the fields was useless; there was the carrying trade in which the bullocks used at other times for ploughing were employed—the railroads have very much ruined this trade; and, above all, there was the weaving industry. The ryots are now reduced to the simple labour of their fields. “No one,” said Lord Ripon at the opening of the Exhibition of Industrial Arts in Calcutta, in 1884, “No one who considers the economic condition of India can doubt that one of its greatest evils is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people of the country are dependent almost exclusively upon the cultivation of the soil. The circumstance tends at one and the same

time to depress the position of the cultivators, to aggravate the evils of famine, and also to lower wages generally." I will add that it tends also to maintain them in the depths of ignorance in which they are sunk. It will always be found in all countries that the artisans are more highly educated than the peasantry.

A further cause of the impoverishment of India is the drain from the country. Before the Mutiny, the sums annually drawn from India by Great Britain amounted to two or three millions only. The Home Charges alone now exceed seventeen millions, of which nine millions and a quarter are on account of interest on funded and railway debt, and four millions three hundred and fifty thousand pounds are on account of pensions paid in England. But this grand total does not include the remittances on account of private gains from railways, banking, merchandise, the ocean and river carrying trade, tea and coffee planting, cotton and jute mills, indigo, coal mines, and the like, or the private savings of officials and others which are sent to England. Taking these into consideration, it is a moderate computation that the annual drafts from India to Great Britain amount to a total of thirty millions. The equivalent of this at the current rate of exchange is four hundred and fifty million rupees. It can never be to the advantage of the people of India to remit annually this enormous sum to a foreign country. The amount paid in pensions may be inevitable, but it is obviously a dead loss, for it is spent abroad; and no country was ever a prosperous one in which the interest payable on its own capital expenditure, whether for military purposes or on reproductive public works, was not distributed among its own people. Only ten per cent. of the public debt of India is held in India itself. There is a constant drain from India to pay the interest on the remaining ninety per cent. which is held in the United Kingdom. There is a constant drain also to pay the profits which are remitted to England on account of the investment of British capital in India. Lord Curzon has very forcibly said in a speech delivered by him in November, 1902, at Jaipore: "There is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes or which I have done more to discourage than that of a cluster of Europeans setting down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people." *Rem acu tetigisti*, I exclaim; but I add, in the words of the

same old satirist, *Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. Lord Curzon has lost sight of the fact that what is true of the native states is true also of the whole of India. In a speech to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta in the ensuing February, he sneered at India's economic drain as a 'copy-book fallacy' and as 'a foolish and dangerous illusion.' But how can it be denied that it would be vastly more beneficial to India if the wealth produced in the country were spent in the country? India is the field where capital is invested, but all the interest that is reaped therefrom passes to the pocket of the investor and he takes it to England. To say that it makes no difference to India whether the wealth made in India is taken away elsewhere or spent in the country itself is not the doctrine of economic science: nor is it the language of common sense. India is not inhabited by a savage primitive people who have reared no indigenous system of industry or art, who are ignorant of their own interests and who are incapable of advance in civilisation.* They look back on their past with a just sense of pride, and under the influence of English education are stimulated with new aspirations and legitimate ambition. India is poor and there are those who believe that in consequence of its political conditions it is becoming poorer; but the ambition of its people is

* I cannot refrain from reproducing the noble panegyric of Burke in the speech on the East India Bill:—

"This multitude of men does not consist of an abject and barbarous populace, much less of gangs of savages like the Guaranies and Chiquitos who wander on the waste borders of the river of Amazon or the Plate; but a people for ages civilized and cultivated by all the arts of polished life whilst we were yet in the woods. There have been (and still the skeletons remain) princes once of great dignity, authority and opulence. There are to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There is to be found an ancient, venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning and history, the guides of the people whilst living and their consolation in death; a nobility of great antiquity and renown; a multitude of cities not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class in Europe; merchants and bankers who have once vied in capital with the Bank of England, whose credit has often supported a tottering State and preserved their governments in the midst of war and desolation; millions of ingenuous manufacturers and mechanics; millions of the most diligent and not of the least intelligent tillers of the earth."

to take their place among other nations in the future federation of the world. They are convinced that the prosperity of their country depends on the diminution of its economic drain and on the conservation of its resources for ultimate development by indigenous agency. Their opposition to the exploitation of their country by foreigners is based upon their conviction that this exploitation is a real obstacle to their progress and a source of present and future trouble to their nation.

Another source of impoverishment is the artificial exchange which has been established in the Indian currency. While the silver value of the rupee remains at about ten pence, its artificial value has been fixed at a convertibility of one shilling and fourpence into gold. At the same time the purchasing power of the rupee, according to all the tests which can be applied in regard to its power of purchasing food grains, has not increased, but on the contrary has declined. The total value of the annual exports of Indian merchandise exceeds a thousand millions of rupees. But if the intrinsic or silver value of the rupee be taken, the value must be raised by 40 per cent., and to this extent the producers and factors are deprived of the legitimate price of their produce. No doubt in that case the purchasing power of the rupee would further fall, and every item of expenditure be ultimately forced up, but the process of depreciation is a slow one, and for a generation at least the producer in India would have been a gainer. The Government has profited immensely by the artificial raising of the rupee, as it is able to pay its interest on sterling loans at a lower rate of remittance; the officials as a body and other persons who draw their salaries in silver have also profited; but on the other hand the bulk of the people and all classes of producers are injuriously affected by this cause—the European tea-planter as well as the grower of jute, oilseeds and food grains. The masses of the community in India have also suffered in many other ways by the closure of the mints. The value of the rupee having been raised, the agriculturists pay a higher rent and the people generally contribute to the taxes of the country in an appreciated currency. It was this point the Hon. Mr. Gokhale drove home in the memorable speech delivered by

him in March 1902 in the Viceroy's Council, at Calcutta, when he argued that the surpluses of the Indian revenues were due to the artificial currency policy of the Government, and that the present rate of taxation ought, therefore, to be reduced. There was no one who could answer him on that issue.

What then is the remedy? It is easier to diagnose the disease than to cure it. I do not pretend to offer a panacea cut and dried for the solution of the difficulties of the economic revolution through which India is passing. But of one thing we may be assured: that they can never be overcome except by the systematic encouragement of indigenous arts and industries and by the introduction of mechanical appliances. These again can never be fully utilised until the children of the soil have been prepared for their use by technical education. The value of agitation in this direction is therefore evident. But I must add the essential caution that it is only one side of the question with which technical education deals: that is only one of the agencies by which India will be assisted in recovering her economic equilibrium: it must not be pressed prematurely. The clerical or literary profession are said to be overstocked. But there is still a large demand holding out prospects of the most attractive employment in such professions as law, medicine, or Government service. The service of Government in particular possesses potent charms which I at least have no cause to undervalue, and I have no sympathy with the practice so much in vogue of denouncing the natural aspiration of Indian students to obtain an appointment in the service of their own country. It is urged upon these students to drop their exclusive devotion to so-called liberal education and to devote themselves to a course of technical instruction. But it is the simple truth when I say that there is at present no prospect of employment or emolument for them, be they never so profoundly trained in the highest branches of science, or in the most elaborate technical accomplishments. We must look at these matters as practical men would look at them. The great drawback to technical education, as it is now being urged in India, is that it affords no sufficiently remunerative opening and no satisfactory outlet for an independent career. In the absence of capital, the only support which will give life to the current movement is the guarantee of Government employment. There is of course no such guarantee.

The costly Polytechnic School at Baroda has proved a failure ; the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute of Bombay has met with very equivocal success. I have heard of the recent establishment of a Technical Institute in Ahmedabad, and of Scientific and Art Institutions in Calcutta and elsewhere. I heartily wish them success, but there are, I fear, little grounds for any sanguine expectation. I would not be understood to discourage the endowment of colleges of science, schools of art and technological institutes. Far from it. The accumulation of capital would be paralysed if there were not this technical training to facilitate its use. But let us be careful that our zeal for these institutions does not lead us into the untenable position of stimulating a supply for which there is at present no natural demand.

What is more necessary, is to stimulate the demand, and how this can best be done is the problem for solution. The demand for technical education can only be expanded by the application of capital. But where is the capital to come from ? India is a poor country, and the only rich men to be found are, as a rule, wealthy landlords, who are constitutionally indisposed to invest their money in industrial enterprise. From every point of view we are confronted with the staggering poverty of our Indian fellow-subjects. Mr. Reginald Murray, a well known Calcutta banker, has been at the pains of getting together some figures showing the relative extent to which banking is carried on in England and in India. With a population of fifty millions there are in the 6,025 offices of the United Kingdom deposits equal to a contribution per head of twenty pounds. India with a population of three hundred millions has only 127 banks, and the deposits per head of the population are twenty-four pence. For this the people themselves are to some extent to blame. There is no doubt that the progress of the country is greatly hampered by the national custom of hoarding. The quantity of this hoarded wealth has been enormously exaggerated, and but little of it is available for useful purposes. A sense of distrust induces petty traders to shrink from depositing their money with bankers, and their resources are too scattered and distributed in too small quantities to be of much utility for profitable investment. Still there is substantial foundation for the charge of wasted capital. Both silver and gold are hoarded in specie and converted into ornaments to

an extent altogether opposed to the best interests of the people ; and so long as individuals who understand the use of capital as well as those who do not, permit themselves and encourage others to sink their savings and even to borrow money for deposit in this unproductive manner, it is a truism to declare that wealth decreases and prosperity decays. An urgent need in India, therefore, is the better disposition of hoarded wealth of men who will not fritter away their money on marriage expenses or ceremonies, and are not unwilling to lay out capital on undertakings which will bring them neither titles nor official smiles. We do not want capital to be buried or squandered. But it is not only the perverse use of capital with which we have to contend : it is always the poverty of the country that is arrayed against us as our most formidable opponent. It is to labour-saving appliances, to the action of machinery, that we must look for any considerable advancement in technical skill. The standard of living among the labouring classes of India is, however, so low, that unless machinery is introduced in a somewhat wholesale manner, their very poverty will place them in a position to withstand its competition. The cost of production by manual labour is so cheap that the introduction of machines is rendered difficult. Above all, the workmen of India are themselves in the habit of raising their own small capital, and have never been accustomed to work under large capitalists for bare wages after the manner of European labourers. The introduction of machinery will require a readjustment of the relations of capital and labour on a larger scale than accompanied the revolution inaugurated by the discoveries of Watts and Arkwright. The problem is by no means easy. The most permanent remedy appears to be in industrial co-operation and organisation for the purpose of raising joint capital. This is a practical proposal, but it raises, I fear, a somewhat distant prospect of realisation. I welcome the suggestions put forward for the establishment of village banks on the basis of co-operative credit, and am glad that some beginning in this direction has already been made ; but I note that legislation for giving a legal status to village banks is still delayed. Or we may turn to the establishment of a National Bank, and of subsidiary local Banks on the lines which have been adopted with such success by Lord Cromer in Egypt. The relations of these banks with the State are few ; their rate of interest is low, and

the aid of the Government is invoked only for the realisation of outstanding dues. If the Government of India were to follow the example which has been set to them in Egypt, there might be some hope of raising capital and ameliorating the conditions of Indian industrial finance. Another proposal which is advocated with persistent vigour by the Indian press is that the Government should afford assistance to indigenous industries by Protection. We have lately seen the introduction of Protective legislation in the interest of the tea industry, and both the tea and the indigo industries are being bolstered up by the State with money grants for the encouragement of scientific observation and teaching. So much for industries under the management of Europeans, and it is not surprising that a cry should arise for the protection and encouragement of enterprises in which Indians take the lead. Why should Government undertake for the benefit of the planters to tax exported tea, with a view to placing funds at the disposal of the industry in order to push the sale of Indian tea : and refuse to impose a similar tax for the benefit of any other industry which may demand it ? Why, for instance, it is asked, should not the Indian tanners, who are gradually but surely losing their business in competition with the superior resources and energy of America, be assisted by a duty on the exports of raw skins, so that these may be retained in the country and tanned by local labour ? The example of Denmark and Germany and in particular of Belgium is pointed to, to show how profitable the Government encouragement of local industries may be. But in all such cases there is a rivalry, direct or implied, between the encouragement of British and Indian capital, and an Indian newspaper I have lately seen observes with caustic bitterness and no small measure of truth that, "as there can be no revival of Indian industry without some displacement of the British industry, we understand the difficulty of ruling India for the good of the people of India." This is in fact one of the most hopeless aspects in which the problem before us can be considered. In the great industrial conflict of the world, England is engaged in a life struggle against American and Continental competition, and against competition also with her colonies, and our own capitalists are keenly conscious of the fact that they are more and more dependent on their success in exploiting the vast population and natural resources of India to their own

benefit. It is their aim to have a complete command of these through the importation of British capital into the country. The Government of Lord Curzon has identified itself with this policy; and, whatever may be possible in other directions of fiscal enterprise, this at least is certain that, having regard to the economic revolution through which India has passed, no attempt can be made to encourage Indian industries or the investment of Indian capital by means of protective legislation without a complete reversal of British policy and the sacrifice of the profits and aspirations of British capitalists.

It is needless to say that any proposals for a customs union between Great Britain and our self-governing colonies have very little application to India, and it was inevitable that the recent debate (on the 10th July last) in the House of Lords on the subject, which was introduced by Lord Northbrook and continued by three noble lords who had also held the office of Governor-General in India, should have proceeded on unreal and academic lines. It was indeed suggested in that discussion that we could not refuse to India the power of protection which was exercised in the self-governing colonies, and that as the resources of revenue in India were limited there would be a natural desire to have recourse to import duties. Such a suggestion was a mere *ballon d'essai*. A desire for protection exists, no doubt: but it is equally certain that no proposal in this direction has been considered or ever will be seriously considered by the Indian Government. India is not a self-governing dependency, and its tariff policy, as Lord Elgin once declared from his place in Council, is determined by the mandate of the Secretary of State. Any proposals for fiscal protection in India—such as those which are in practice in the colonies—any scheme of preferential tariffs between England and India, may be “economically inexpedient and politically dangerous,” or they may “supply the party of agitation with a real grievance and with the materials for an indictment to which no reply is possible”; but this at least is known to all—that no Government at home would venture or dream of venturing to authorise the Government of India to impose any form of protective tariff against the manufactures of the United Kingdom. The utmost that could result from any scheme of preferential tariffs, as far as India is concerned, would be to give some slight and inappreciable benefit to the

producers of wheat, sugar and tobacco in that country, and to afford perhaps in other respects worthless concessions which would only disarrange the fiscal relations between India and other countries. I will not say that such a scheme, however foolish it may be, might not be enforced—it would not be impossible, though it would probably prove inefficacious in any direction—but the concession of the privilege of protection, such as the self-governing colonies enjoy, is not within the purview of practical politics.

On the other hand there is an undoubtedly growing tendency among the Indians to help themselves. In accordance with the nascent feeling of patriotism, there is already a certain amount of public sentiment in favour of using country products in preference to foreign imports. The spread of the cotton mill industry in Bombay, which is mostly financed by native gentlemen, affords some evidence of the willingness of Indian capitalists to launch their money in other adventures. Unfortunately this industry is labouring under severe depression. Whether it is owing to the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. excise duty or not I cannot say—it is probably due at least as much to competition in China with Japanese enterprise and adverse exchange; but many of these mills have been lately in liquidation, and others hardly earn enough to pay for depreciation and wear and tear of machinery. Still the industry maintains its position as the largest in India. There are many other instances of industrial investment. Indian capital is being laid out in many places on a small scale on the manufacture of materials such as glass, paper, ink, cutlery and the like. A brass foundry was some years ago established in the Nuddea district by a competent metallurgist who had been to England: I know not with what success. The opening of a soap factory has been advertised in Mymensingh. A Jubilee Art Academy has been started in Calcutta. A great stimulus has been given by Lord Curzon to the restoration of Indian Art by the establishment of the Art Exhibition which was held during the Durbar at Delhi. A scheme has lately been launched by some of the leading landholders in Bengal for starting an extensive store of indigenous art and industrial products in Calcutta on joint-stock principles. Above all there are the great schemes of the Indian millionaire and philanthropist, Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata, of Bombay. The endowment of an Indian Institution of Research and Science at a

cost of £200,000—which I am glad to say has been liberally supplemented by the Government of India and by the enlightened Government of Mysore—was designed to deal with the widest range of practical studies which are capable of treatment by scientific methods. This has been somewhat shorn of its original scope, and has been reduced for a time, at least, to proposals in connection with the experimental sciences of chemistry, physics and biology. In any case, it is a grand conception. The same Indian capitalist has put forward a project for the exploitation of iron and copper mines in Central India which, if it succeeds, will inaugurate a new era in the industrial history of India. We have, I hope, entered upon times which offer a better prospect of attainment of the great object we have in view. Sir William Ramsay, who went out to India to report on Mr. Tata's scheme, was impressed with two facts: first, that most of the population supports itself by agriculture and that the relative proportion of manufacture to agriculture was insignificant; and second, that the raw products of India have either not been exploited or are in the hands of English companies, or are exported in an unmanufactured state. In these words Professor Ramsay sums up what I have been endeavouring to emphasise: our object must be to establish indigenous industries dealing with raw products in the country. An excellent address was delivered on this subject by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda on the occasion of the opening of the Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad. In inspiring accents he called upon his fellow-countrymen to think, to act, "to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country, and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence and prosperity." For the first time a great Indian Prince has had the courage to deliver himself of such weighty sentiments, and the stimulus of his enthusiasm cannot fail to rouse the energy and practical instincts of his countrymen. The difficulties are immense, and the essential difficulty always hinges on the absolute dependence of India on Great Britain. But I have confidence in the enterprise and persistence of the people of India among whom the seeds of a liberal education have been firmly planted. The first steps of the movement have been taken and a start has been given by Indian capitalists. The beginnings are small—very small at present; but, like the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, they may grow and swell with a full promise of abundance. It

rests with those who are most in sympathy with the movement, with the great body of the Indian educated community, with Englishmen who have the welfare of India at heart, to see that the present impetus does not flag, that the action taken is sustained, and that the rising interest in the subject does not dissipate itself in idle words.

H. J. S. COTTON.

A NEEDED RESEARCH INSTITUTE: GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL.*

I.—A SCHOOL OF REGIONAL SURVEY.

I MAY most simply introduce an explanation of this proposal by an outline of two pieces of present work in hand, each relevant separately, still more when considered together.

The first is to help in a neighbouring town with the starting of a Naturalists' Society. The demand for such a Society arose, in the first place, not so much from the local field-naturalists, but largely from the schools, which are now beginning to escape from their hitherto almost exclusive book-work for examination (just the sort of Indian education *Punch* now makes fun of, since it is persisting a little longer in your universities, though doubtless falling into discredit with you as it is here). My particular problem has been to help this movement towards a larger but quite practicable ideal, that of not contenting ourselves with desultory local rambles, collections and observations, but proceeding from these towards a Regional Survey and Regional Museum. The educational uses of these, and of their practicable bearings also, have been outlined in an initial address to the incipient Society since published.†

In such ways I have come to be interested in the planning of museums,‡ and also in "Nature-Study"§ methods, *i.e.*, those of simple first-hand observation of nature, aspect by aspect, science by science. This is the use of the "Camera obscura" in its turret, and of the open-air roof-platform, with its various scientific outlooks of our Edinburgh "Outlook Tower": and for the purpose of such teaching I was fortunate in obtaining the use of the vast arcaded Gallery of the

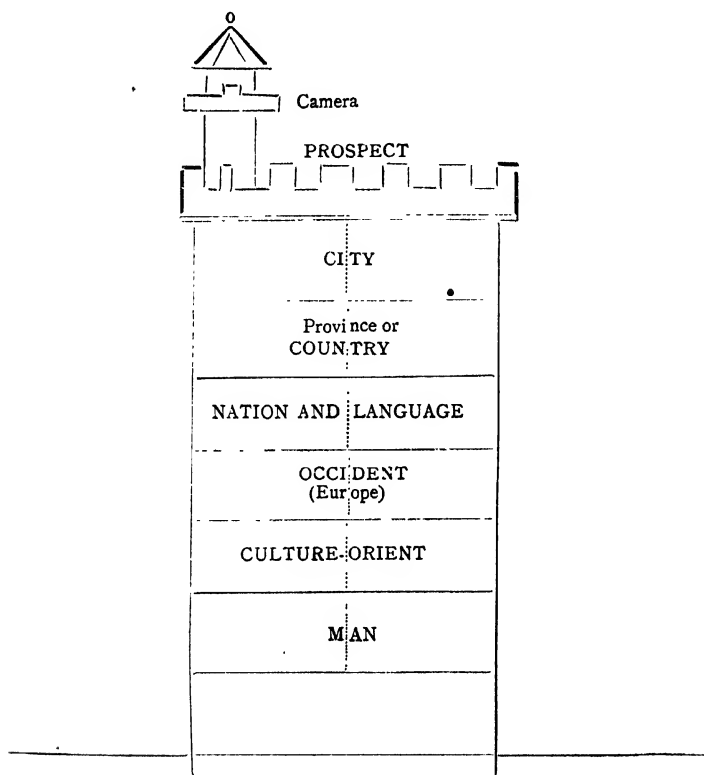
* Being four letters to an Indian friend.

† "A Naturalists' Society and its Work": *Scot. Geog. Soc. Mag.*, Feb. and Mar. 1903.

‡ *Memoire sur les Musees*, etc. Exposition de Paris, 1900. Also Report on Museums possible after Glasgow Exhibition, 1901. "A Common-sense Museum": *Dunfermline Naturalist Soc.*, May, 1903.

§ "Nature Study Syllabus": Cambridge University, (Summer Meeting), 1902.

Trocadero during the Paris Exposition of 1900. The diagram below represents the section of the "Outlook Tower."



The other piece of work is more comprehensive. To complete our Survey of Nature, a Sociological Survey is needed ; and to initiate this, by actual regional effort and example, is the next purpose of our "Outlook Tower." Such a survey starts from the preceding Naturalist's Survey of the Region, and utilises its results. But it especially devotes itself to the human world ; it proceeds outwards in widening circles, first to the immediate outlook of the whole city, thence to its province and country, Lothian and Scotland ; and conveniently allots to these the descending storeys below those just mentioned above. Thence, again, it proceeds to Great Britain, and in

view of the unity of Language, allots a room to the United States. Thence we descend to a storey devoted to that European, or rather Occidental civilisation, of which the whole English-speaking world is but a part, and in which France, Italy, Germany, with smaller countries like Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and younger countries like Russia also, each claim an important share.

From the European level we descend to a still wider outlook—that over the Cultured Orient—the Culture-Orient, as I may call it; recognising at least the need of an outline of the civilisations of India, China and Japan. Of these, then, I would speak here more fully, so as to elicit suggestion towards expressing the essentials of these great cultures in our Western world, where a better understanding of them is at present so much needed.

But to appreciate the best thought of the East, must we not dematerialise our Western world? How shall we recall, how recover, the noblest standpoint our thought has ever reached—that of Plato's search and vision of the Beautiful, the True, the Good? For such abstract ideals, largely brought, as they were, from the East, our Western thought is nowadays too concrete. Yet are we not returning towards these ideals by understanding their concrete embodiments, respectively supreme, as a recent Oriental writer, Mr. Okakura, so truly insists, in Japanese art, in Indian thought, in Chinese ethics? Our problem thus lies not in simply teaching these countries the essentials—much less the peculiarities or defects—of our own civilisation, as we have too often supposed, but first of all in learning the best from theirs, in recovering, in developing, through the help of Japan our sense of beauty, in recognising more and more fully in Chinese ethical teaching the significance of every detail of conduct, and learning from India to search all things, not only as we already do for their outward law, but also for their inmost truth. This educative process has long been in progress in European art which now learns more and more from Japan. European and American thought also shows indications of Indian influence; while with the incipient recovery of the agricultural outlook in economics—too long obscured by our mechanical progress—we shall become more appreciative of the fundamentals and ideals of Chinese thought and life.

Let us now continue our descent of the storeys of the Tower. Upon its lowest and fundamental storey, we finally place our studies

of the simpler races, and especially our elementary anthropology of those nature-occupations of which all our cultures—Occidental or Oriental—are but more complex developments. For upon imperial thrones, in camps and armies, in sports or games, in subtler developments also—artistic, literary, scientific—we have still the hunter, just as in our skilful metallurgy the miner. Similarly, under all the developments of our banking or our law is still the peasant, in our enterprise and travel still the seaman, and in our occasional spirituality the shepherd of men.

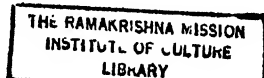
In summary, then, our principle becomes clear. Beginning with our immediate landscape, with nature-study, with geography in its more physical sense, we relate this to our social life, through nature-occupations, from which develop our institutions and their associated or resultant ideals. We trace these in widening circles throughout the vast field of geography, the wide range of history, and these alike in their simple and their evolved aspects, both objective and subjective. That is, on each level we enquire, first, how nature has conditioned occupation and institutions; but next, how ideals—be they associated or complementary—have reconditioned spiritual and temporal life, have determined education, and have expressed themselves in literature and art.

In this way the confused and apparently so discordant ideas of the world around us may be increasingly gathered up and unified in our thought; thus, too, we begin to see they may be increasingly harmonised and orchestrated in our action. Each is seen more and more fully to be co-operating with others, each in its appropriate place; so that the aesthete and the utilitarian, the poet and the philosopher, the patriot also, may increasingly understand each other, no longer distrust and oppose. Thus, beyond the usual conception of individual education, our Tower may aspire to take part in widening circles, not only of personal and professional, but of more general education also. *

We all recognise that each and every order of phenomena grows up, through increasing observation and deepening interpretation, into

* Should the question be asked: "How is this applicable in education"?—the briefest answer may be given by reference to the programmes of the Edinburgh Summer Meeting, which has, for most of the past fifteen years, been mainly occupied with the development of Regional Survey, and its extension in the widening circles of the Tower. Its programme for next August is thus entitled 'Edinburgh and its region'.

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a special field of science. But each of these groups of phenomena has necessarily its corresponding order of feeling ; and this tends to develop into a characteristic attitude in art and poetry, with its expression in individual genius, in school or style. All these fields of knowledge tend to become co-ordinated towards a larger unity, all these varied types of feeling also in some measure mix and combine, and thus arises the larger and more fully reflective calm of culture. This unifying science, this extending culture, make up for each of us such philosophy as we may individually possess ; and in their fuller developments (those of the historic philosophic systems of West and East) they foreshadow for us that ever completer philosophy which it is the united problem of humanity to attain.

II.—FROM REGIONAL SURVEY TO REGIONAL SERVICE.

So far, then, the storeys of our Tower, with its various levels of thought. But now returning through these storeys, let us next, upon the right-hand side of each storey, make room for the respective fields of action, and correspondingly outline them. Let us trace these from their origins in emotion and will to their outcomes in conduct and culture, in education and in art. We thus pass from thought to action, from survey to service, more accurately, from Regional Survey to Regional Service, since to each horizon of thought corresponds a circle of activity also.

Returning to our turret, this highest outlook upon the beauty of the landscape and city deepens in appreciation, and constructive imagination awakens also. We not only see and feel what is without ; but at other times and in other moods we feel and see it anew and transformed within. We seek to express what we feel, what we see within, to give it outward embodiment in beauty ; to clothe it in form or in colour, to give it forth in music or in words. Thus, and thus only arises anything which can be called Art. (The official educationist's illusion, that art is to be " fostered " by teaching " drawing," as manual labour in copying is commonly called, need not, therefore, be considered here.)

This association of calmest contemplation, of intensest action, is where the Japanese artist is supreme ; quietly thinking for hours or

days, then executing his picture in a few minutes ; or again sitting, planning his garden for a week, but then realising it in a single month—building bridges, transplanting trees, and all.*

Let us now descend from turret to roof, to our "Prospect" gallery with its outlooks of the sciences. Add now to each of these some indication of its corresponding practical applications. Here is our most eminent Western faculty : for with our active scientific discovery goes a corresponding activity of invention, and this not mechanical and physical, but biological also ; in increasing measure let us hope also psychological : why not even social as well ? Our restless practical activity, our political strifes, however unfruitful they may seem to calmer Oriental eyes, have yet this element of life ; each is a search, an effort ; and in so far it has a more ideal element and tendency than the busy Western seeker may know, or his Eastern critic realise.

Leave these two levels of productive art, and of applied science, and descend to the next storey, that devoted to the City. Here upon our left we have the Civic Museum already mentioned. But upon our right we must have now also a corresponding Civic Business-room: here we have to concern ourselves with the tasks of continuing the best traditions of the city, so far of course as may be in our power. Here we discuss these, and as far as may be, take part in them ; some of us in its material industry, and some in its art. Here, again, let us consider what may advance the health of its surroundings and of its people ; how we may grapple with actual diseases as well. Similarly, our practical scheme includes some beginnings of endeavours usefully to influence the Education, the Economics, and the Morals of our City. Note the correlation of each science and art—Physics and Industry, Æsthetics and Art, Biology and Hygiene, Psychology and Education, Economics and Government, Ethics pure and applied ; always the same co-operation of theory and practice is kept in view. Our little study and school of Civic History and Statistics thus begins to be a school of civics also.

The same idealism, yet practicality of aim, has next to be expressed upon each of the lower and wider levels of our building ; for the ideal deepens, its related action correspondingly widens as we descend. Passing respectively the storeys of National and of European interests, there appears again upon the level of the Culture-Orient some recogni-

* Menpes "Japan."

tion of the super-eminent idealism of the East, from whose lofty tableland of general thought have arisen so many of the high individualities of the spiritual world ; and these now viewed not only in the personal and subjective life, but also in its practical outcomes and applications in the world. Hence the rich and varied mastership of Japanese art, yet more plainly the widespread effort of the mind of India towards the inner education ; hence the applied ethics of Confucius ; hence no small element in the just and tolerant statesmanship of great Eastern rulers, from Solomon to Akbar.

As on the left hand of each of our successive storeys we sought to sum up the aspects of thought and feeling, and to unite science and poetry into philosophy, so we must sum up also on every level the main aspects of individual action, and of group-action. We must trace their ideals, their expression by social groups and institutions, to their completest resultants hitherto, in the vast and enduring continuity of Oriental thought and life.

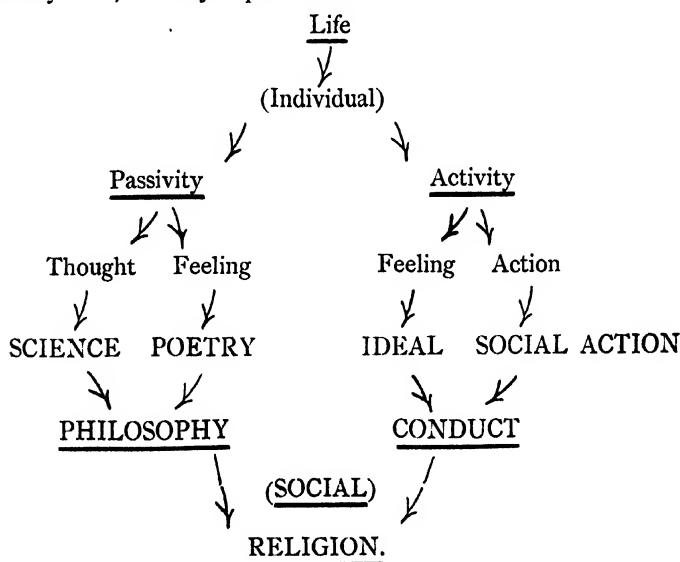
Thus our action may be helped to rise above that mere temporary impulse of expediency, which is the vice of action, particularly in our day. For from this standpoint we now judge each individual dream or deed, each individual aim or task, each hope or effort, as but a single pulse or step in the long procession of humanity. It views this no longer merely in the vivid section of the passing moment, as has been our Western strength, still more our weakness ; but also in the more Eastern way, in the long perspective, headed by the ever-continued ancestral past, followed by the unborn future. Within this unending march, our whole generation is but a passing group, our individual lives but vanishing figures, and this the Eastern remembers better than we ; and so needs ever to remind us. Yet may not our activity in turn recall him to an intenser grasp of life ?

III.—SPECULATIVE AND PRACTICAL SYNTHESIS : APPLICABILITY TO EAST AND WEST.

We have thus summarised our right-hand storeys as we did those of the left. Now let us unite them. Descending from the roof-turret and gallery of art and sciences, our educational outlooks have developed : thus our individual life progresses through ever-widening circles of thought and corresponding action, and each suffused with

feeling. Reaching the deepest levels, we may realise how the collective thought and science of East and of West deepen, each with its corresponding poetic emotion, each into its characteristic schools of philosophy. We see also how ideals become active, while action shapes lines of conduct, and these become fixed types of character. Philosophy and conduct next unite, and thus make up the yet fuller unity which we call individual and regional, national and racial, religion. This now more clearly generalises and guides, illuminates and directs our individual paths—orients it, as we say in well-nigh every European language. This infuses from its deep and vast reservoir a deeper calm into thought and feeling, a higher ideal and intensity into action. Thus the individual more and more truly lives in society or in humanity, and humanity in him: and thus we reach our fullest conception—our fullest Western conception at least—of the individual life, and of the social life also.

We have thus passed from our geographical studies. In briefest summary then, we may express this :—



The historic greatness of the East, its often-renewing spiritual initiative, surely lies in its having recognised these widest aspects of things, most philosophically in India, most practically in China.

From some of these Oriental movements our Western world has learned again and again ; to them it has directly or indirectly owed many of its too brief moments of philosophic detachment, of religious impulse.

Conversely, the individuality of the West, its eager, ever-extending analysis in thought, its intensive practicality in action, is now being recognised by the Oriental mind, and this on all sides—by Japan in science and in invention, by India in government and in industry : in a measure by China also, and yet more before long, and this not merely in commerce or in war. May not, then, this graphic and geographic mode of presentment of Western thought and action, as it widens from its own regional centres, civic, national and occidental, to meet the Oriental world of thought and life, be of service to the Eastern student ?

Observe now in summary what our eight-storeyed Tower amounts to ; that is, what it suggests, what it aims at and stands for. First, it expresses and seeks to bring together in simple, yet synthetic outline, the characteristic outlooks of Western arts and sciences. Next, it seeks to furnish a concrete series of geographical and historical outlines : and to these it applies the sociological spirit, the evolutionary method, so reaching an increasing scientific interpretation of things. Finally, and upon every level, in the normal and characteristic Western way, is the right hand of strenuous action.

Note, next, that this whole construction expresses both these aspects of the Western mind, which are becoming interesting and suggestive to the Eastern one. First of all is expressed our eager ambition of knowing and doing in the concrete world ; our spirit of self-assertion and self-realisation therefore. But as we descend we see developing a deeper spirit than that either of our ever-widening scientific survey, our ever-enlarging practical ambitions. For these active ambitions are seen to involve a harder and harder service of others ; something beyond that open adventurousness which has so commonly characterised the Western, from the first sea-faring of Ulysses and his companions to the latest landing of the young magistrate or soldier upon your shores. Selfish and thoughtless though these may be at the outset, each thinking " the world's mine oyster, which I with sword will open," little, alas ! though they too often learn—you yet recognise in the East, do you not, that often too they

work their way downwards as it were, storey by storey, ever taking up heavier responsibilities for others, until some, at least, reach a very different view of the world from that with which they started—a view expressed in two of our noblest Western myths, Greek and Mediæval respectively ; that of Atlas bearing his material burden, that of Christopher struggling beneath his weight of sin and sorrow. Some, again, deepen their science till it meets and touches the Indian thought in some new fructifying contact, now in philology, again in psychology or in philosophy, now in anthropology or again in religion.

Have I succeeded in making my meaning clear ? Starting at first with no idea save that of an Edinburgh school of science, of an extra-mural laboratory of synthesis, of an encyclopædia more worthy of the name of *Encyclopædia Graphica* or *Synthetica* than its predecessors in the same street, ("Britannica," "Chambers," and the rest), this little study-building has gradually developed into new and fuller purpose. I now see it no longer as a resultant and an expression of our Western sociology and our practical economics, not even of our philosophy and of our morals, but as a meeting-place with Eastern thought as well. It remains a Western observatory and laboratory, yet it has an Eastern cloister ; it is an outlook, yet a minaret ; designed as a teaching and guiding lighthouse, it has also place for an altar of the Sacred Fire.

East and West have already met in such ways ; and that long ago, and even here, in this remotest west and north. From my turret, looking beyond the busy city, the well-ploughed fields, the ship-filled sea, I see the distant snows ; among them one conspicuous altar-peak, to this day "Ben Ledi"—the Hill of God—from which of old there glowed over land and sea, before assembled multitude and far-off watchers, the ancient Druid fires.

"For East is East, and West is West,
Yet *ever* the two shall meet."

IV.—PRACTICAL PROPOSALS : A PROPOSED INSTITUTE OF REGIONAL SURVEY AND SERVICE FOR INDIA.

Am I told all this is sentiment, not modern science ? But is science less advanced in interpreting the past culture of any region

than in digging up its past monsters? May we not also seek to discern and arouse its ideals, as well as survey its coal resources?

Still I accept the reminder. Let us bring our thought down, then, from its snowy mountain top to this nearer horizon. There before me as I write, I see also the vast ash-heaps of more terrestrial fires, the petroleum-works of contemporary industry, with their mountainous mounds of still smoking ashes; nearer still I see the tall chimneys of busy industry, the colossal framework of the Forth Bridge. Each of these in its way is a world-masterpiece of modern invention, a culmination of art and science; and I trust I not only understand, but so far sympathise with the educational ideals of this practical nature, which bulk so largely, for instance, in Sir William Ramsay's Report upon the proposed Research University for India.

I hasten, then, not merely to admit, but to point out, that our actual Regional Studies, our survey and interpretation of this Edinburgh district, for instance, of this Scottish region, or any other we may select, brings out in the clearest way, not only its historic tradition or its culture-initiative, but its actual material importance. Such a Regional Survey not only expresses these; it brings out even more clearly than heretofore the latent possibilities of economic development; it calls for factories or windmills not yet built, for railways and canals not yet constructed; and these not only in suggestion or sketch, but in at least one notable case, in comparative detail also. Let me cite, as an example, the Forth and Clyde Canal, which is needed not only to rejuvenesce Scotland, but to complete the great circle route from Hamburg and the Baltic to New York. This project has been of late publicly revived through the interest in the Naval Base decided upon by the Government lately; but the details of a careful geographical study of all the practicable routes have been exhibited in the Scotland Room of the Tower for the last three or four years.

In the corresponding survey and re-interpretation of India, which I would fain suggest to you, studied in widening regions around this or that carefully chosen centre—Bombay, Calcutta, or the like—I should thus in no wise forget the economic resources upon which Professor Ramsay insists, but clearly recognise these, summarise and map them. Here, for instance, we not only collect maps and notes of the mineral regions upon which our present British industries and

their associated chemical and mechanical science so largely depend, but have set agoing, and kept on foot a " Botanical Survey of Scotland," * (including agriculture and forestry) : here, in fact, our little Tower and University Botany Department have as yet given what is perhaps the most developed example in the British Empire.

As regards minerals, and still more as regards soil, I recognise, and press as fully as any other, the need of Regional Survey ; as regards soil and vegetation indeed, as just indicated, this Tower may claim a very direct activity towards this. The most immediate questions of practical politics, starting from that of the people's daily food, are assuredly more directly and more profitably approached by help of such a conception of extending Regional Survey, and of corresponding Regional Improvement, than by any localised exploitation of mineral resources, or any stimulation of mechanical industries and manufactures.

Hence, even if my conception of survey went no further, I would not hesitate to claim for it a character even more utilitarian, even more applicable to Indian needs, than the proposals of metallurgist or chemist, of mechanician or engineer. And this obviously ; since, by the very conception of a Survey, justice must be done to each and all these claims ; yet justice also to the far larger, far more important questions of Indian soil, of agriculture and forest, of labour and of labourer. Influenced by the local and temporary disproportion of our mechanical industries, these organic industries, these human questions are at present far too little understood in our island economy ; and most English writers and even statesmen, most educationists also, thus too easily continue or exaggerate this disproportion in India or elsewhere.

What I am really trying to make clear, however, is not only that my proposal lies beyond the mere survey of region and its possibilities for mining and mechanical development, but even for agriculture or forest. It culminates, on the intellectual side, in Survey of the People, on the practical side in Service of the People. The conception of an institution on such lines as I am here giving, admits and recognises all that can be urged for existing European proposals in Indian Education, and exceeds them in its comprehensiveness. With

* R. Smith : Botanical Survey of Scotland : Scot. Roy. Geog. Mag. (1900).
 M. Hardy : Do. do. do. (1901).

them it recognises the importance of material resources ; indeed, as I have shown, it goes beyond them : it surveys these more fully, and in truer proportion. But its essential point remains, in seeking to investigate the *human* resources, the population of each typical region, with its set of traditions and institutions. In thus surveying each type and plane of Indian culture, it would be correspondingly exploring latent possibilities, more fully arousing them, and this alike for the individual and for the public mind.

It is true that mining, metallurgical and mechanical schools might indeed promote research, would indeed do so, and this in substantial measure so long as managed by men of the type of Sir William Ramsay. But it is no discourtesy to any Government scheme to say it is impossible to feel hopeful of it ; since it is scarcely likely that the Indian Government will promote research, where no European Government whatsoever has yet succeeded in doing so. But let that also pass.

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Suppose now one-tenth, or even one-twentieth, of the great Research Fund—lately so much discussed—to be devoted to the establishment of such an institute of research, to realising this *Institute of Regional Survey and Service*, this “Geoscope” and “Socioscope” of India. With this amount, a by no means inadequate Institute could be erected and begun ; the preparation of its every storey would require and would train investigators as it proceeded ; and each of these would then be more fitted for finding out his own personal work in the world, and the place where that work might be best applied. It is in fact to this educational aspect of such a Geographic and Social Survey, as it comes to be understood—to its usefulness not merely as an encyclopædic Information Bureau adapted to each place and its interests, not even as a centre for inspiring useful activities upon every level, but as a training centre for young capacity of almost all kinds—that I look to its ultimate acceptance here, and to its diffusion elsewhere, as a type of educational institution not less useful than are the existing or proposed special and technical ones, but more so. It would help to vitalise and to unify such special institutions ; it would not compete with them, but justify their existence, or help to call them into being.

Young people have to ask two questions :—“What can I do ?” “Where can I do it ?” or, in other words :—“What is my work, and

where can I find it ? " What best can answer this would be a Research Institution indeed ; and this, I submit, is what I am proposing.

Next, let the revenue of another tenth, or say even of another twentieth, be devoted—at least for a term of years—to the continuance and development of such a survey. Eight or nine-tenths of the whole endowment would still remain : surely, enough to give similar trials to not a few of the various industrial, technical and bureaucratic institutes which have been proposed.

I make this proposal, of course, tentatively, yet with all respect and with all seriousness ; and with some hopes that it may be thought worthy of consideration by the authorities concerned. Should they be disposed to look into the matter, I should be happy to go into further detail.

Reference may be made to Prof. Haddon's recent presidential address to the British Anthropological Institute. This—shortly to be published—usefully insists upon the necessity of an anthropological survey, and makes a vigorous appeal to the sympathies, the intelligence, and the statesmanship of our home public, as of India and the Colonies alike. The time is more than ripe for such a Survey.

I am also encouraged by the fact that the new building for the Faculty of Education of Chicago University is probably to have a Tower, corresponding at least in part to the outline just given. With even one such sociological observatory and a laboratory here, one in America, and one more in the East, we should have a very representative set of institutions, and one, I trust, before long fruitful in research, and serviceable in the training of the searcher, for whom there should thus not only ever intensify or extend the range of thought, but also correspondingly deepen or widen the field of action.

I submit, then, that to create one such Institute of Regional Survey, one such centre of geographical and social observation, record and interpretation, could not but be of immediate scientific educational value, and even before long of economical value also ; while it would throw an ever-increasing light upon these further requirements of its city and its region—indeed of India as a whole.

LEO XIII. PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.

THE world-wide interest and sympathy which has shown itself in connection with the recent illness and death of Pope Leo XIII. may justify us in saying—as indeed several journals have said—that Joachim Pecci had by the end of his life become the most prominent man in the twentieth century. This is the more remarkable when we consider certain apparent disadvantages of his position in relation to the rest of the world. The interests to which he devoted his life were identified with a religion which, by its very constitution, claims to be the only one religion intended by the Divine Will for the human race. His public teachings were, as a rule, in direct antagonism to those tenets which are most in general favour to-day, and which are frequently regarded as the outcome of a wider knowledge and deeper thought. In the world of politics Leo XIII. invariably strove for principles and measures directly counter to the prevailing tide of policy in the various spheres of his influence. And yet in spite of these apparently adverse conditions, we find in the late Pope's death a signal on all sides for the outpouring of an expression of cordial respect and admiration, the like of which no one—except possibly Queen Victoria—has ever awakened in the history of the world. Other great men have evoked the enthusiasm of a nation or of an Empire ; Leo's tribute of admiration is gathered from the human race.

This phenomenon may partly be explained by the fact that Leo has been so long before the world, that he has exhibited himself as a man of ability in all departments ; that whatever he has touched has been improved by his hand ; and whatever he has undertaken has at least so far met with success, that in no case has he given to the world in general the impression of having manifestly made a blunder. Even in those actions which have provoked an adverse

judgment from one party, Leo has always had the support of as large or a larger bulk of public opinion in his favour. Thus his firm decision against the validity of Anglican Orders was met with severe strictures from the High Church Party ; but the prevailing opinion of the Protestant world seems to have been that Leo was undoubtedly right. Similarly in France and Germany there were always two parties among Catholics—those who heartily agreed with the papal policy and those who, however respectfully, looked askance on his action. But in these and in all other cases it was always opinion against opinion. There was always a large part of the world on Leo's side ; never was it a case of "Leo contra mundum."

But if as a public man and as an ecclesiastical statesman the long career of Leo has given the world an impression of ability and success, his activity as a Church ruler, a theologian, a scholar and a *litterateur* has added considerably to the general esteem. A prolific writer of essays on the subjects of the day—to give his encyclicals the name they would bear to the outside world—he has combated the current views of the age in a manner which has aroused little or no animosity, even where his pleadings have failed to secure assent. The writings of Leo, which appealed to Catholics with authority, appealed to non-Catholics on their own merits ; and in no case could his attacks be described as acrimonious. In fact, a tone of kindly and sweet reasonableness forms so manifest a feature of them that his words have been studied with respect and interest even by those whose own views were diametrically opposed to his. Some of his epistles were conspicuous for their tenderness of feeling ; witness the "Letter to the English People," which exhibited the yearnings of a father pleading for the return of children long absent from their proper home. Others showed a marked considerateness even in the act of condemning faults and errors, as in the "Letter on Americanism." Nothing Leo ever wrote—the condemnation of Anglican Orders perhaps excepted—can be said to have caused a sensation ; and the general effect of his every utterance has been to make friends of those towards whom his efforts were directed.

And in thus making friends for himself, Leo has also made friends for the Church he represented and taught. His writings did much to break down the barrier of ignorance and misunderstanding with

which the Church was surrounded. In touching this point it is not our wish or intention to be controversial. There can be no doubt that the chief obstacle to the success of the Catholic Church, in dealing with the *educated classes* of non-Catholic nations, lies in the existence of rival communities all claiming the name of Christian, and all putting forth schemes of doctrine and church organisation different from and opposed to those of the Catholic Church. Were such divisions and rivalries banished from Christendom, the outsider would have but one question to settle. Now he has two :—First, “Is Christianity the true religion ?” Secondly, “Which of these rival Christianities represents its pure and perfect creed ?” And what has made the case worse is this. Besides clear-cut differences of belief and principle, there has survived, from the old quarrel of the Reformation period, among those who then separated from the communion of Rome, an almost irremediable misunderstanding as to what the Catholic Church is and what she teaches. Garbled and injurious, nay, repulsive notions of certain of her doctrines have secured for themselves the strength and vitality of an inherited tradition ; so strongly fixed in the minds of those who have drunk them in with their mothers’ milk, that no explanation by individual Catholics would have the slightest chance of being listened to or believed. Besides this, the Church by the same means has not only come to be regarded as corrupt and superstitious, but also as an enemy to conscience, to liberty, to tolerance, to science, to material progress, to education, and in general, to modern civilisation. This huge system of misunderstanding has often proved and still proves a second great barrier—a natural outcome of the first—and a barrier which it is the highest and best interest of the Church to remove by all means in her power. Until this is done, the Catholic Church cannot get even a hearing among large sections of humanity whom it is her desire and commission to convert. With a whole anti-Catholic literature against her, nothing but the clearest pronouncements, weighted with the greatest authority, can undo the prevailing impression of outsiders, based on a traditional view which has soaked through and through the national mind and literature of Protestant England, Germany or America. And hence the special value of the writings of Leo XIII.

In them he has shown unmistakably how a Catholic can be

firm and uncompromising in principle, and yet free from fanaticism or acrimony of manner. The calm air of unshaken confidence displayed by Leo XIII. in pronouncing on the most vexed questions of modern times contains in itself a power of persuasion. The broad basis of history and reason, on which he builds up his position, is in itself a piece of evidence. Men who admit no authority in religion are thereby led to reflect that, after all, authority has a great deal to say for itself in the positions it assumes, and in the doctrines it wishes to impose on mankind. People feel that it would require no such wrench from the guidance of reason as is usually supposed, in order to come over to the Pope's views and to abandon their own. They may not be convinced, but at least they are conciliated; and the shrinking horror which they had felt, so long as they regarded the Papacy as an inveterate enemy to all that modern civilisation and philosophy and science hold dear, dies away before a benign and friendly as well as reasonable exposition of Catholic principles, such as is found in the Leonine encyclicals. This is, of course, specially the case in such letters as have bearing on the social and political questions of the day.

Summing up, therefore, the causes of the universal respect in which Leo XIII. is held, they seem to consist in the length of time during which he has been before the world; the marked successes of his statesmanship during the period; the absence of anything which the world at large would agree in describing as a marked failure or blunder; his known personal ability as a ruler, a statesman and a writer; but above all, the friendly and conciliatory tone which he has consistently adopted— not as a policy assumed on reflex grounds, but rather as something spontaneous and natural to him, and exhibiting his personality in the most attractive light. Add to this the calm and firm adhesion to and proclamation of his principles, without fear and without reproach, and the sweet reasonableness combined with intense earnestness which recalls the lines written by Lightfoot about one of the first successors of St. Peter—I mean St. Clement of Rome. Speaking of the famous Epistle to the Corinthian church, Lightfoot says:—

“Clement's epistle shows moderation, the practical outcome of comprehensiveness and the sense of order. The words, *ἐννεκός*, *ἐννεκεα* occur many times in his epistle. In two passages the

substantive is qualified by a striking epithet which seems to be its contradiction:—*ἐκτενὴς ἐνείκεια*—*intense moderation*. The verbal paradox describes his own character. This gentleness and sweet reasonableness was a passion with him." ("Apostolic Fathers: Clement," p. 97.)

So far we have considered the late Pope's personal character as it has impressed itself on the outside world. We may next turn to Leo XIII. regarded in another light, viz., as a living representative of the Catholic Church. There can be no doubt that the Church is also subject to certain laws which govern the existence and well-being of other institutions whether human or divine. A society will win the cause to which it is devoted only in so far as it can maintain before the world its own claims and pretensions—so far as it publicly proves itself to be what it claims to be, and is able to achieve what it professes to achieve. The Catholic Church claims not only to be a reliable and firm guardian of the revelation of Christ, but also to be a power for the betterment of mankind. What the Church has done for European civilisation and morals by her work in the past would require an essay by itself. We can but say here that European civilisation, in boasting of the coping-stones it has placed on the edifice, forgets how all the foundation work was done in the so-called "dark" and "middle" ages. If the Church is not thought remarkable as promoting the work of modern science, she at least has, by her scholastic studies in the middle ages, evolved the intellectual faculties by which recent science has become possible. If the polish of the modern gentleman is regarded as a late product, it was the mediæval Church that taught the first rudiments of manners to the northern savage. If the public moral standard in Europe to-day is a high one—whatever the private morals of individuals may be—it was the Catholic Church that imposed a first check on the wild indulgence of archaic passion, and taught men the duty of self-restraint before they were as yet ripe to put it into consistent practice. Even naturalistic virtue, which still prevails among men to whom Christianity seems an exploded myth, would never have come into existence but for the training of the tribes of Europe in the nursery and infant school of the Catholic Church during the gloomiest period of Christian history; nor would this standard, divorced from faith, long survive, unless the lessons and principles inculcated by centuries

of Christian training had so effectually been ingrafted into the structure of the modern mind.

And now, when the Catholic Church has been robbed, in whole regions, of the children on whom she had expended her studious care, she stands to-day in the anomalous position of having to prove afresh to the world her power for the moral and mental betterment of mankind. She has now to show forth her results to men who, though they know it not, are themselves monuments of her success. In no other way can she do this, except by exhibiting in her members the fruits she has produced, for the bettering of mind and character; and of these members there is none more conspicuous than the head of the Church himself.

In education, training and character, Leo owed nothing to the outside world. Catholic in parentage, in country, in surroundings, in early training at home, in later training at school, he was purely and simply a product of the Catholic Church. And all that he was, and is, and does, is in itself a testimonial to the Church which produced him. Take, then, into account the nobility of his character, the purity of his morals, the uprightness of his principles, the integrity of his aims, the comprehensiveness of his views, the conciliatoriness of his policy, the whole circle of intellectual, moral, social and literary adornments which make Leo XIII. the man he was. Then reflect that the modern world has had no finger in the moulding of this man, who was nursed in a Catholic cradle, taught in a Catholic school and college, who spent but a few years outside Italy; and for the rest of his life—a period of twenty-five years—never set foot outside the narrow confines of the Vatican. Leo was undoubtedly a man of first-class quality in every respect; but not phenomenally or exceptionally so. He was not *unique*; and the fact that he was the product of entirely Catholic conditions is in itself a refutation of those who imagine that there is something in Catholicism to lower character, to dwarf intellect, to narrow comprehension, to debilitate reason, to destroy business enterprise, or in any other way to make a man less a man in the greatest and noblest sense of the word. Leo is more. He is a living testimonial to the Church which brought him up—a brilliant, enticing and effectual advertisement for Catholicism.

Considering the matter in this light, we may take the four chief

ideas embodied in the title :—"The One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church," and find these four features embodied and set forth in the life and action of the late Pope.

(1) How thoroughly Leo was *one* with his own Church will be seen by the unanimous reverence—not merely official but spontaneous and cordial—felt for him in his capacity as ruler of his own communion. Perhaps there never was a time in which the Church was so free from internal division as the present day. It is not because different schools of thought, different national and party interests, different and opposed lines of policy have disappeared from among its members. But through them all there is a spirit of "live and let live," of mutual consideration and allowance to be found. These differences co-exist ; but instead of proving a cause of contention, it may be said that their sharp edges are no more felt in the general life of the Church than the edges of mosaics in a well-laid pavement. The spirit of Leo has not created, but has certainly increased this internal peace and unity, even in accessory matters. *Qualis rector domus, tales ii qui habitant in ea.*

(2) As regards the note of *sanctity*, no one will question the personal piety and loftiness of character and conduct which adorned the life of the late Pope ; and no one can fail to recognise what he has done towards promoting the spiritual life of the whole Church. Besides his various works for the improved training of the clergy, the living spontaneousness of his own personal devotion has ever been uttering itself in encyclicals and decrees, now encouraging one kind of piety, now another. The generosity of his alms-deeds shows that his attention was not confined to prayer, but extended itself to charity and humanitarian enterprise ; and there is no one who has not at least indirectly felt the influence alike of his spiritual teaching and of his personal example of holiness.

(3) Turning to the note of *Catholicity*, we find this mark of the Church illustrated not only by the world-wide grasp of Leo's mind, and the unlimited range of his interests—so that he could make his own the line :—

Homo sum : humani nil a me alienum puto—

but also in the far-reaching extent of his enterprise. Confined a prisoner within the precincts of the Vatican palace and gardens ; his mind encompassed the world ; while the world itself flowed into

his retreat, bearing away in every case a token of encouragement from his benign presence. His eyes were on all parts of the globe at once, and it was noticed with what tact and accuracy he was able to enter into local details, though the matter in question belonged to a date years gone by. But more than this. His mind was not confined merely to keeping well in touch with the Church as it presented itself to him. He took the initiative in relation to the most distant lands, setting up vicariates here and hierarchies there, and labouring not without success for the reunion of the Eastern sects. He was in the fullest and most practical sense a Catholic ruler of a Catholic church.

(4) Of the *Apostolic* character of Leo XIII. little need be said. The 262nd successor from the Apostle Peter, he inherited the office of preserving intact the deposit of faith received from his predecessors, and of teaching the same to all nations. Not content with encouraging the clergy under his care in the carrying out of their apostolic commission, while confining his own valuable time and energy to the higher matters of general government, he has opened his mouth and taught the nations with a frequency and fulness which make his industry and enterprise one of the many wonders of his already wonderful life. Into this function he has thrown all the weight of his powerful mind and literary skill as well as the full force of his exalted position and authority.

In conclusion, Leo XIII., by his personal qualities, his official acts, his private life and character, his indomitable energy, his comprehensiveness, and above all, his benignity, friendliness and sweet moderation, has been a lifelong source of strength and well-being to the inner life of the Church ; and besides this, in drawing the eyes of the world on to himself, he has drawn them also on to the Church ; and, leaving behind him a sweet memory and a name held in universal benediction, has won for the Catholic Church a new hearing, the fruit of which will be reaped with abundance in the generations to come.

A SILENT REVOLUTION IN INDIA.

THE political affairs of India, whether it be the official acts of the Government, or the agitation of the educated classes for the acquirement or extension of rights and privileges, always attract a certain amount of attention, but the undermining process which is quietly but constantly at work, modifying the conditions of life of Indian society, is generally allowed to pass unnoticed. The quest after political regeneration and advancement is attended with a certain amount of din and clamour, and impresses the public, whilst its votaries never seem to lose heart, even though there be no appreciable result, and indeed failure often tends to stimulate their energies and leads them to augment their efforts. The goal that is sought after is a united nationality, so the gospel of political unity is earnestly and incessantly preached and is based on an identity of interest, for it is believed that what is good for one, cannot but be good for the other, and what injures the Hindu will be no less prejudicial to the Mahomedan or the Christian. Friendly co-operation and mutual toleration are therefore invited and, to a large extent, practised. But the path that leads to social emancipation is so rugged and uncertain and so beset with obstacles, and attended with so little glory, that many a one, longing to press forward, is disheartened and turns back, though it be reluctantly. Not that its advocates are smaller in number or less influential in position, or entertain any doubts as to the utility of the cause, but the task is so gigantic and the opposition to be surmounted so great that all but a few become apathetic or indifferent and allow matters to drift, hoping someone with greater moral courage will come forward to deal with these questions. The remaining few form a small and compact band of earnest workers in the cause of social reform, but if they are asked what their labours have as yet achieved, I am afraid the answer will be anything but satisfactory or encouraging. For all

that, if the accounts be balanced, it will be found that gradually and imperceptibly, and sometimes even without any special effort, a greater advance has been made in this direction than in the acquirement of political rights by the people.

If we look back half a century and compare the political condition of the people then with what it is now, the progress to be recorded is very meagre. The same form of Government still prevails, and enacts laws, the enforcement of which is entrusted to officers who combine the functions of police, prosecutor and judge, and though a certain number of high appointments have been conferred on Indians, the real authority is still not in their hands; local self-government is but a shadow, without any substance, for a member of Council is a mere talking machine incapable of influencing anything either for good or for evil, whilst the Municipal Commissioner finds himself overruled and controlled by an official majority. Education has certainly advanced by leaps and bounds and has produced a hankering after western ideals and western methods of government, yet the net result is very poor, notwithstanding the gigantic efforts made for political regeneration. But a silent and gradual revolution is in progress as regards social matters, based though these are, or at least most of them are, on the sacred sanctions of religion. A tourist visiting India, say, eighty years ago, would in his rambles have come across a funeral pyre, and in the concourse of people would have found a woman ready to immolate herself with her husband; walking along the banks of a river he would have been startled to hear the wailing of an infant left there to die by a high-class Rajput, so as to be free from the ruinous expenditure incurred at a daughter's marriage; meeting a group of children he would have been staggered to find among them girls of eleven and ten who were wives not only in name, but in fact, whilst others were widows who had no recollection of having ever seen their husbands, and yet were precluded from again contracting a legal tie with one of their own caste. Slavery was a recognised institution, and whilst the outcaste element was kept under domination, the Brahman appropriated a good many rights and privileges denied to others. A conversion to Christianity entailed a forfeiture of all rights in family property, and men without a vestige of clothing roamed about under the garb of sanctity. We now find these practices, in-

human in some instances, or relics of barbarism in some others, either done away with or discouraged to a great extent, but the credit of it is due to the British Government, which intervened on the ground that they were repugnant to public morality or public decency. But there are other practices equally objectionable and no less conflicting with western ideas of morality, which the legislature has not touched owing to a strictly defined policy not to interfere with the religious or social observances of the people, unless and until there is a clear expression of opinion of a majority of those interested in the matter. For instance, the educated classes are asking for some check to be put on the abuse and waste of religious endowments by men living useless and profligate lives, but the Government has turned a deaf ear, presumably because these classes form but a minute fraction of those interested in the matter.

A Hindu, no matter what his position may be, is the slave of a rigid and relentless custom which regulates every movement of his life, as it concerns himself, his family, and his relations to others. For each individual separate rules are prescribed as to what he is to eat or drink or wear, how and when and with whom he is to marry, with whom he is to associate, and even where he is to die; and not only his retention in his brotherhood, but even his hope of future salvation is dependent on the manner in which the multifarious duties so imposed are discharged. If a man eats meat when forbidden to do so, he is promptly outcasted. The members of the family of the premier nobleman of Calcutta have been outside the pale of Hinduism for generations. Their immense wealth and influence enables them to secure wives from the orthodox Brahmans, but no sooner the bride enters the family, she also becomes an outcaste, whilst their well-dowered daughters are given to poor but respectable Brahmans, who are willing to throw in their lot with them. It is said that the founder of the family was minister to a reigning Mahomedan prince in Bengal; he incautiously let fall the observation once that a dish of meat his master was eating had a most fragrant smell. This settled his fate, he was outcasted, for if he had not eaten meat, he had at least inhaled its fragrance, which was equally as bad. A man marrying outside the sub-sect of his caste is put out of the brotherhood. A girl whose marriage is not consummated when she attains puberty is supposed by some to commit a fearful sin. A

student crossing the seas finds himself on his return put out of the pale of Hinduism. A poor pilgrim as he wends his weary way to some sacred shrine comes across a group of ants, and promptly out of his slender store, brings out a little flour and places it carefully near the holes, so that these, his fellow-creatures, may have a hearty meal ; but close by is another pilgrim dying through thirst and praying for a drop of water, but his features betray him to be a man of low caste, and he is passed by. The English law has no special tenderness for a Brahman who, in former times, was allowed to expiate for the crime of killing a Sudra, by certain observances which were enjoined for taking the life of a cat or a frog, a dog or a lizard ; yet in South India, the relative positions of the Brahman and what are called the depressed classes have not undergone much change. These are still treated very much as if they were logs of wood. I frequently noticed that if a pariah saw a caste man coming along the public road, he crossed over from the side the latter was walking to the other side of the road, so as not to pass within a certain distance of him, from the fear of polluting him.

That many of these rules are debasing and injurious to health, or subversive of morality and unjust to his fellow-men, is a matter for the consideration of which the framers of these rules have given a Hindu no option, for any departure from them is visited with serious consequences. And here it is the Hindu reformer steps in to plead the necessity and urgency of social emancipation from such customs. But he preaches in vain. Buddhism and Jainism furnished a long and continued protest against the privileges of caste, for they taught the brotherhood of mankind ; but after struggling for hundreds of years they were overcome by Brahmanism, and the fate of their followers may yet be seen depicted in the Hindu temples of South India where there are representations of Buddhists and Jains impaled, with dogs licking the blood which trickles down. Buddhism has practically disappeared from the interior of India, and Jainism exists in the form of a compromise between what it was originally and Hinduism which has its basis on a division into castes. Sikhism at its start was somewhat catholic in its tendency and aimed at bringing all classes within one fold, but now the rules of caste are rigidly enforced, and the chief distinguishing features about its adherents are that they eschew tobacco and the barber, whilst the

Hindu does not. The Brahmos are a small body, but no longer within the pale of Hinduism because of their surrender of caste, whilst the Arya Samajists are still within its fold, for although they have raised the standard of revolt against the Brahmans and preach loudly about the abolition of caste, yet they strictly and religiously retain it in practice. It therefore comes to this, that a Hindu reformer may preach anything he likes without necessarily incurring any censure, but no sooner he carries out his theories into practice, out he goes from his community. The Brahmo is more of an outcaste in the eyes of his neighbours than is the Christian in South India, who keeps caste. The late Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidya-sagar is venerated by the Hindus all over India. He was the greatest advocate that the marriage of Hindu widows has ever had, but if he had given a widowed daughter or sister of his in marriage (I do not know if he had any), he would have been outcasted by his own people and held in derision for his heterodox views and practices.

So far then as the teaching of reformers is concerned, I am afraid it has not accomplished very much, not so much indeed as has education on Western methods, which is imparted in our schools and colleges. This has opened the eyes of those who avail themselves of it to the imperfections of their social system, but unfortunately they lack the moral courage to come forward and denounce it openly, or what is equally as bad, they are indifferent as to whether any reforms are introduced or not. Sometimes, indeed, the educated classes are the most uncompromising opponents of a reform as to the desirability of which there can be no difference of opinion. And curiously enough, Bengal, which intellectually is by far the most advanced Province in India, and where Shakespeare and Milton and Burke and Addison find a most devoted following, is by far the worst in this respect. It made more noise at the time the Age of Consent Bill was under discussion, and it has never yet allowed a Hindu widow to get married without being outcasted, though in the Bombay Presidency and in Upper India there are every year a few cases of this kind, within the pale of Hinduism. But there still remains a more powerful and successful reformer, whose conquests are many and varied, and that is what I may call *necessity*, or the force of circumstances, which compels a man to give up or modify

certain time-honored customs which no amount of preaching or education would have led him to relinquish. Here we have the most striking illustration of the maxim that necessity recognises no law, sacred or secular, and it makes itself felt in every class of society and in every phase of life, and even the most orthodox is often a helpless victim to it.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of men doing what is absolutely obnoxious to their feelings is afforded by their sending their children to Mission Schools or Colleges where Scripture lessons are regularly given. Some are indifferent about the matter, whilst others consider it decidedly undesirable and improper, but have to give way, because in these hard times education is a prime necessity, and perhaps the only institution that is available is in the charge of Missionaries, or, may be, its efficiency is such that preference has to be given to it. Then, again, there is the Brahman who is under a solemn obligation to devote his life to study and meditation, and in fact it was this characteristic which obtained for him his ascendancy over other classes, yet we find him forced by necessity going in largely for secular pursuits, and of course gradually losing this ascendancy. The Brahmans of Southern India have the greatest possible prejudice against shoes of any kind, but especially those made of calves' leather. A visitor to the Madras High Court may see any day the Indian Judge of the High Court walking bare-foot from his Chambers to the Court, and indeed people of high position and great wealth will go about the dirty streets without any shoes on their feet. And yet in Agra a very successful tannery and boot and shoe-making factory is owned and worked by Brahmans, who were, as they told me, drawn to this business by the hard struggle for existence that is going on everywhere.

The Hindus consider the outcast unclean and even their touch is said to cause pollution. There are strict rules prescribing within how many feet of each other the two classes can approach. In North India the rigidity of these rules is worn out owing to the Hindus having come into contact so largely with the Mahomedans and later on with the English, but in South India there are villages or quarters of the town inhabited entirely by the Brahmans, where no low caste man dare enter. I was considerably startled at first when, on arriving at the beginning of a long street, I was told by the driver of

the cab that I had to get down and walk to my destination nearly half a mile further because he was not permitted to enter the street. But in any passenger train a spectacle is presented which is enough to make an orthodox Hindu's hair stand on end, for the Brahman and the Pariah are sitting side by side, rubbing shoulders together. The Brahman had the alternative of respecting his religious scruples and trudging along the road, may be for miles, but he preferred to swallow his scruples rather than put himself to inconvenience. It is curious how a person, earnestly protesting on religious grounds against having to do a certain act, is found a few months later doing precisely the same thing, forced by circumstances, or, it may be, to avoid a little trouble. The introduction of the waterworks into Benares led to very serious riots, the Hindu residents having objected to iron pipes being laid in their sacred city, and swore by all the gods and goddesses that they would not touch the water which had passed through these pipes. About six months after the opening of these works, the Brahman was seen calmly waiting at the standard to take his turn to draw water from it, after a Mahomedan and an outcaste had had their fill. Sometimes having regard to the susceptibilities of the people, a project intended for their good is withdrawn; after a time they repent of their folly, but repentance comes too late. When the railway was being built from Madras to Erode, it was proposed to have a station at a village a few miles to the south-east of Erode. The Brahmans warmly protested against the desecration of their person and their lands that would result from it. The railway took another route, but six months after it had commenced running the very same Brahmans sent a petition stating that theirs was a large village, that its traffic was greater than that of many villages in the neighbourhood, and begged that the Railway Company would open a station in their village also. But it was too late. This is by no means a singular occurrence, for other incidents parallel to it can easily be cited. On the arrival of trains at the stations where longer halts are made for refreshment, the curious spectacle is seen of orthodox Hindus making a rush to the refreshment rooms to get something that will prevent their famishing from hunger. Some do this compelled by dire necessity; others are indifferent because they are away from home and free from the reach of inquisitive eyes; others again are callous as to whether any one

sees them or not, for they have been in the habit of keeping up a double establishment at home, one in the orthodox fashion to satisfy their friends and relatives, the other in the advanced or European style, where articles of food, forbidden and unforbidden, are served up prepared by Mahomedan cooks.

I have casually alluded to the fact that the Brahmans, at least of North India, are losing their ascendancy owing to taking to secular pursuits. Apart from that, as the people are becoming more enlightened they are beginning to realise that those who belong to the priestly class and follow the priestly profession are not by any means the patterns of virtue they ought to be, and that their exactions and, in some instances, extortions supply them with resources by which they are enabled to lead idle, useless and profligate lives. The pious pilgrims who come from long distances to Benares or Gaya are by no means impressed by the saintly character of the priests, and are not so generous in their benefactions as they were at one time. On the contrary, a strong disposition is being evinced to call the Brahmans to account for the proper management of the large funds with which they are entrusted for religious and charitable purposes, but which are sometimes squandered in debauchery and riotous living. This feeling found expression in the attempt made to get the Government to pass the Religious Endowment Bill which was intended to place some check on the managers of temples and their funds. The Government declined to legislate in this matter for the reasons I have already referred to, but curiously enough its motives were misconstrued, and its failure to respond to the appeal of the people was attributed to a secret desire on the part of Christian rulers that the funds devoted to the use of other religions should be frittered away so as to help indirectly the one they were themselves interested in.

The position of Government is often most embarrassing, for where opinions are divided, it incurs odium whether or not it takes action as regards a particular matter. The most striking instance of this was afforded by the Age of Consent Bill. There was an expression of public opinion, though somewhat limited in extent, which asked for some action to be taken for the protection of child-wives, and added to this were the precedents the Government had already established of intervening on grounds of public morality, or

where the health or the lives of the people were wantonly endangered. But taking everything into account, many of those interested in marriage reform are now of opinion that Government interference in this matter was not only a blunder but, at the time, did more positive harm than good. That there was an existing evil to be dealt with no one will deny, nor that the Government was actuated by the best of motives. But it ought to have possessed sufficient foresight to know that any interference on its part in this matter would arouse a good deal of indignation and irritation. It ought either to have left the matter severely alone, or made up its mind at all costs to do something substantial to mitigate the evil. It did neither the one thing nor the other, but after incurring a great deal of odium it merely made it penal for a man to consummate his marriage with a wife under twelve years of age, a most half-hearted measure, not worth the powder and shot spent on it. The Hindu scriptures strictly enjoin the marriage of a girl before she attains puberty, but the view that consummation is to take place immediately after this event occurs does not receive general acceptance, and, as a matter of practice, is not generally acted upon. The Government which makes it penal for a husband to have intercourse with his wife till she is twelve years of age, notwithstanding the fact that she has attained her puberty before that period, will nevertheless allow a person with impunity to force his child-wife who is over twelve, but has not attained maturity, to render the duties of a wife so long as he does not happen actually to kill her or to seriously injure her. If men are to be found reckless enough to do the one thing, there are others sufficiently inhuman to do the other, though both religion and social custom are against it. The Act is practically a dead letter: there is hardly an average of one case a year in the whole of India to be dealt with under its provisions. At the outset, it exasperated the people and perhaps led to the consummation of some marriages sooner than they would otherwise have taken place. I doubt if it has had any appreciable effect on domestic life in the *Zenanas*, where the outside world knows absolutely nothing as to what takes place.

But forces are at work, which, quite apart from any acts of the Legislature, are silently and gradually modifying the marriage customs of the Hindus. The existing evils are not so pronounced

amongst the mass of the people who are poor, and what with their hard work and insufficient food, girls with them do not attain to maturity so soon as those of the middle and higher classes, who lead a life totally different. But these classes are now being gradually enlightened by the liberal education they are receiving, and educated Hindus realising the evils of infant marriage are now deeply stirred as to the necessity of some action being taken for the mitigation of these evils. It may perhaps be said that educated men have been in evidence for the last two generations and yet have achieved nothing. This is true, but they were powerless. It may sound strange to English ears and be considered inconsistent with the harrowing tales, recited by well-meaning but somewhat emotional persons, of the sufferings of women in India, and of their degraded position, but nevertheless it is a fact that so far as domestic affairs are concerned a man is almost a cypher in his own house. The reason why some of the educated men were opposed to the Age of Consent Bill was not that they objected to the principles underlying the Bill, but that they had so little control over their own homes that they were afraid of complications arising that might not be very agreeable. In all joint families where there are, say, three generations living under one roof, the grandmother rules the household, and every deference is paid to her. If she desired to marry her grand-daughter at the age of seven, her son, the father of the girl, would never venture to oppose her. To expect a Hindu lady of the old school to act otherwise than had been the custom from time immemorial was out of the question. But now there are several factors at work which have a tendency to weaken old customs. The joint family system is crumbling to pieces, and the sentiment that once found favour, "let us get the boy married, it will be only one extra mouth to feed," is getting somewhat out of date. The present-day woman is more in advance of her predecessors, and is not quite so conservative, and therefore more susceptible of being reasoned with as to the evils of early marriage. The struggle for existence is so keen that education is considered in these days a prime necessity, for unless a young man goes through a University course all avenues for obtaining a livelihood are closed to him; his parents are, therefore, unwilling to distract his mind by providing him with an object that will claim his attention in preference to his studies. And

finally the educated Hindu is not now such a firm believer in the old theory that an offspring is a necessity, if a man wishes to save his soul from hell, which has had a good deal to do with early marriage, but is of opinion that a young man had better first make some provision for his temporal wants before he thinks of the next world, and of a son ready to perform his obsequies in the case of his death.

I have no desire to underrate the influence of English education or the benefit arising from the agitation of social reform. But educated men, as a rule, are either indifferent or helpless, and many of the reforms that have been carried out are often in spite of them and their indifference. The Bengalis in their intellectual attainments outstrip the other communities in India, yet they promptly outcast a young man going to England for his education. Not for his having indulged in forbidden food, for he can do that at home with impunity, but that instead of confining his visit, say, to Hongkong, or being transported as a criminal to the Andamans, which entails no penalty, he has had the temerity to journey beyond the waters of the Indian Ocean. The educated classes, forming as they do a small minority, are really helpless, as is evident from one of the leading Indian journals of Calcutta recently calling upon the Government to come to its help in this matter. Not directly, for that would rouse the susceptibilities of the people as an unwarrantable interference, but by inviting a number of the orthodox Hindu leaders to witness the Coronation ceremony in England, for though Mr. Justice Bannerjee, of Calcutta, declined the honour on the score of religious scruples, it was alleged that a large majority would have accepted the invitation, prompted by their loyalty, or from fear of giving offence by a refusal, and thus helped the solution of the sea voyage question. The visit of the Maharajah of Jeypore was itself a notable event, as his orthodoxy is most pronounced, for though he had chartered a special steamer for himself, and taken his own servants and provisions, yet he had carried across the seas his family god, which perhaps for a thousand years had never been moved from the inner apartments of the Palace, and it has been seriously contended— if a god can visit the land of the unclean without pollution, then why not a human being? The god must no doubt have been daily washed by Ganges water, of which sufficient supply had been taken on board,

but mortals might use some other disinfectant. The Maharajah not long ago declared that the Rajah of Khetri, towards whom he holds the position of feudal Chief, had put himself out of caste by being a guest at Windsor of Her Majesty on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee. This aroused the sympathy of the other Chiefs of Rajputana, who in a variety of ways, and especially as regards the marriageable age of girls, have shown that they are fairly advanced in questions of social reform. Very recently a number of Rajput Chiefs and representatives of leading houses were together at Abu, when a banquet was given in honor of the Maharanee of Jodhpore. The Rajah of Khetri was pointedly asked to the party, and all sat down to table as members of the same brotherhood, thus not only reinstating the Rajah in caste, but solving the question of foreign travel so far as the Rajput nobility is concerned.

The Social Reform party deserves great credit for its activity, but we can hardly expect much from it when some of the leading men talk very loudly of social principles, but are ready to condone in their friends the worst social offences, and in some cases to perpetrate the offences themselves. The last annual Social Conference, held in Calcutta, was presided over by a local Rajah who, from the chair, refused to give his support to two important resolutions relating to the fusion of sub-castes, and the re-marriage of child widows, thus reducing the proceedings to a farce, for which Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, of Bombay, administered a telling and dignified rebuke. It seems probable that apart from the agitation of reformers, when the people find a particular burden growing intolerable, they will seek a remedy for themselves. The extortion of large dowries with daughters that are married has become a crying evil in Bengal, and the educated classes are the worst offenders. Of late there has been a very significant movement of respectable families towards Vaishnavism, which takes in all castes, and allows a marriage to be celebrated at the expenditure of a nominal sum. The extraordinary progress of the Arya Samaj is also due to the fact that it offers a relief from certain social evils which seem to be inseparable from Hindu orthodoxy. Education and agitation are desirable means towards an end, but I trust more to that combination of circumstances, which forces a person almost against his will to carry out certain very necessary reforms.

ALFRED NUNDY.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

IT would be a great mistake for any one to treat the career of Keshub Chunder Sen as, on the whole, a failure. His earnest goodness, the purity of all his aspirations and his fervent piety, must have helped to kindle in many hearts—as they did in mine—the sparks of devotion and faith. How much of actual religious zeal now exists in the Brahmo Somaj, I am not in a position to judge; but whatever be the height of the sacred flame of such sentiments in that body, much of it must, I am convinced, be due to him who lighted it up with his ardour thirty years ago.

Yet whatever still remains of his influence, one of the saddest disappointments of life to many of us was the break-down of our hopes of what Keshub was destined to do before he passed from the world. To some of us he seemed the “later Luther,” who would purify India from idolatry and create a new Reformation. Others of us thought of him as one of those who (as the old Chaldean Oracle said) “receive truth through themselves”; and whose transparent spirituality enabled him to convey to more mundane souls the direct and highest teaching of religion. But, suddenly and wholly unexpectedly, a cloud gathered over him; he passed under a shadow, and, before it had lifted, death had borne him away from earth, leaving his work abruptly ended.

In looking over a collection of old letters addressed to me by many eminent men and women of the past Victorian age, it has struck me that it would only be an act of loyalty to the memory of my old friend, if I should publish, in his own country, some of his communications to me, and especially, his final letters of 1878, telling me at full length the motives for his conduct in the one questionable incident of his life, namely, his consent to the marriage of his daughter with the Rajah of Cooch Behar.

That he considered that the course he adopted was incumbent on him as a *public* man, and was a part of his *public* duty, is made perfectly plain by this remarkable letter of 26th April, 1878; and I shall be glad if the appearance of it in *East & West*, may serve to clear away whatever mists still hang over the memory of this good and pure-hearted man. In a recent article concerning him in the same magazine, although a high eulogium winds up the memoir, no effort has been made to vindicate his action, or to explain what really happened on the occasion which gave a handle to misconstruction. I believe and hope that his own simple account of the matter, given to a friend like myself in whom he placed confidence, will be his best apology, if absolute justification be not available. Not for the first or last time alas! in the world's history may it have happened that grievous mistakes and downfall have followed from the ethical error that *Social* duty comes before *Personal*, and that a public advantage may lawfully be sought, or allowed to override, the soul's own law of Truth, and Purity and Justice; in other words, that it is ever possible for us to *do* good in any more effectual way than by *being* good to the summit of our moral ideal.

Notwithstanding the unique elevation of Keshub's whole character, it may be admitted, perhaps, that he was somewhat deficient in firmness—in what we English are wont to speak of as “backbone.” He would (I have no shadow of doubt) have gone bravely to the stake as a martyr for his creed; but he could, and perhaps did, suffer himself to be overborne by the will of high and imposing officials and their persuasions. This, I know, to have been the opinion of many of his warmest English admirers. I have been myself inclined to wish that instead of a high-born Bengali gentleman, with (as he told me) a pedigree of 800 years, he had had a little infusion of the blood of sturdy Saxons or stiff-necked Scots! But I am still more disposed to think that his fatal practice of abstinence from needful food and sleep, that “culpably weakening of our powers entrusted to us for good” (as Zoroaster describes asceticism), had not a little share in his weakness.

Before quoting the larger part of Keshub's letters to me, I shall extract from the volumes of my own *Life*, published ten years ago, some description of him as I saw him in London in 1870, and of the impression he then made upon me and also on my friend, Rev.

William Henry Channing, who several times shared our long conversations in my drawing-room, in South Kensington. This is what I wrote on the subject in my autobiography :—

EXTRACT FROM THE "*Life of Frances Power Cobbe by Herself.*"

VOL. 2, CHAPTER XVII.—"*London in the Sixties and Seventies.*" (P. 133.)

"We had many interesting foreign visitors in Hereford Square, I have mentioned the two Parsee gentlemen who came to thank me for having made (as they considered) a just estimate of their religion in my article '*The Sacred Books of the Zoroastrians.*' The elder of them, Mr. Nowrozjee Furdoonjee, was President of the Parsee Society of Bombay, but resided much in England, and had an astonishing knowledge of English and American theological and philosophic literature.

"My chief Eastern visitors, however, were the Brahmos of Bengal, and one or two of the same faith from Bombay. They were very remarkable young men at that date, members of the 'Church of the One God'; nearly all of them having risen from the gross idolatry in which they had been educated into a purer Theistic faith, not without encountering considerable family and social persecution. Their leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, at any other age of the world would have taken his place with such prophets as Nanuk (the founder of the Sikh religion), and Gautama, or with the mediæval Saints, like St. Augustine and St. Patrick, who converted nations. He was, I think, the most *devout* man with whose mind I ever came in contact. When he left my drawing-room after long conversations on the highest themes—sometimes held alone together, sometimes with the company of my dear friend, William Henry Channing—the impression left on me was one never to be forgotten. I wrote of one such interview at the time to my friend Miss Lloyd as follows (April 28, 1870):—

"'Keshub came and sat with me the other evening, and I was profoundly impressed, not by his intellect, but by his goodness. He seems really to *live in God*, and the single-mindedness of the man seemed to me utterly un-English, much more like Christ. He said some very profound things, and seemed to feel that the joy of Prayer was quite the greatest thing in life. He said: "I don't know anything about the future, but I only know that when I pray I feel that my union with God is eternal. *In our faith the belief in God and in Immortality are not two doctrines but one.*" He also said that we must believe in intercessory prayer, else *the more we lived in Prayer the more selfish we should grow.* He told me much of the beginning of his own religious life, and, wonderful to say, his words would have described that of my own. He said,

indeed, that he had often laid down my books when reading them in India, and said to himself: "How can this Englishwoman have felt all this just as I?"

"In his outward man Keshub Chunder Sen was the ideal of a great teacher. He had a tall, manly figure, (always clothed in a long black robe of some light cloth like a French *soulane*), a very handsome square face with powerful jaw, the complexion and eyes of a Southern Italian, and all the Eastern gentle dignity of manner. He and his friend Mozoomdar, and several others of his party spoke English quite perfectly, making long addresses and delivering extempore sermons in our language without error of any kind, or a single betrayal of foreign accent. Keshub, in particular, was decidedly eloquent in English. I gathered many influential men to meet him, and they were impressed by him as much as I was.

"The career of this very remarkable man was cut short a few years after his return from England by an early death. I believe he had taken to ascetic practices, fasting and watching, against which I had most urgently warned him, seeing his tendency towards them. I had argued with him that, not only were they totally foreign to the spirit of simple Theism, but dangerous to a man who, living habitually in the highest realms of human emotion, needed, *all the more for that reason*, that the physical basis of his life should be absolutely sound and strong, and not subject to the variabilities and possible hallucinations attendant on abstinence. My friendly counsels were of no avail. Keshub became, I believe, somewhat too near a 'Yogi' (if I rightly understand that word) and was almost worshipped by his congregation of Brahmoe. The marriage of his daughter, who has since visited England, to the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, involved very painful discussions about the legal age of the bride and the ceremonies of a Hindu marriage, which were insisted on by the bridegroom's mother; and the last year or two of Keshub's life were, I fear, darkened by the secessions from his church which followed an event otherwise gratifying."

FROM
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN
TO
FRANCES POWER COBBE.

First Letter.

March 1863.

DEAR MADAM,—I thank you most heartily for your kind letter of the 3rd ultimo. Thanks to Providence, I am already restored to health and

spirits and have resumed my duties "with even added energies." I am much concerned, however, to learn that you are ill. . . .

Your sympathy in my labours in the cause of the Somaj I greatly value, coming as it does from one whose heart and soul have been devoted to Theism. Your interesting letter and the many kind communications with which Mr. Newman has now and then favoured me have greatly rejoiced me. It is really a pleasure to find that our humble exertions have secured to us the sympathy of Theists in England—living at such distance from us, and that we have already been enabled to establish a sort of spiritual fellowship with them in the cause of God's truth. May the number of our friends in England grow in time, and may we find friends and co-labourers in every part of the world to encourage and help us in carrying out the mission of our church!

It is impossible in the short compass of a letter to satisfy your curiosity fully as to what we have done by this time. That the Brahmo Somaj is growing in importance and usefulness cannot be doubted, though it must be remarked that here, as elsewhere, the number of thoroughgoing practical men warmly interested in its progress is small when compared with the body of nominal followers. We rejoice, however, that in this land of idolatry and scepticism we have already succeeded in establishing a good many theistic churches in different parts of Bengal, and in the N.-W. Provinces, and in gathering a large number of our countrymen under the banners of Theism. We are at present directing our special attention and energy towards making Theism the *Religion of Life*. This object has brought us into contact with the numerous social evils of our country, such as caste, early marriage, superstitious usages and customs, &c. Unless these are removed, and all the actions of life, domestic and social, are performed in accordance with the dictates of conscience and true religion, and without the least compromise with idolatry, Theism will continue to be a mere church religion. If through God's help our labours in this direction meet with success, Theism will have insured a firm footing in the *life* of the nation. Let us work with earnestness and patience—let us "learn to labour and to wait, trusting to Him from Whom cometh strength and Who giveth reward unto all labourers in His field."

Touching the matter of ameliorating the condition of our females, I regret to say we have hitherto done little on an extensive scale. We have succeeded, however, in turning the general tenor of the female mind—I speak of the rising generation only—towards the truths of Theism. There are many who have not only renounced the absurdities

of Hinduism, but are engaged in daily worship of the True God : even more, our wives join us in our daily prayers. Instances are not wanting of theistic ladies firmly upholding their faith in the midst of severe persecution.

Beautiful poetical effusions, descriptive of God's glory or expressive of the longings and aspirations of the heart, and touching prayers for the removal of the wants of the soul, now and then issue from the pen of women and appear in our vernacular publications. In fact, the spirit of Theism is working out its way secretly yet effectually in the "zenanah." We are at present endeavouring to make our efforts in this matter more systematic. There is another department of female improvement to which our attention has been directed of late—how we may counteract the progress of prostitution and reclaim fallen women. I purpose to write to the Secretary of the London Female Preventive and Reformatory Institution by this mail, to give me information as to what amount of progress has been made in England in this matter.

The publication of Bishop Colenso's work on the unhistorical character of the Old Testament is certainly a very important phenomenon in the history of religious development. We hail it as one of those steps whereby the world is to advance in Theism ; we rejoice the more, as this step has been taken by a *minister* of the orthodox church and one so eminently qualified as Bishop Colenso. Such an example of conscientious exposition of what is truth in the face of strong opposition and in the centre of orthodoxy doubtless commands the admiration of all impartial men and strengthens the hope of every Theist in regard to the progress of truth.

Our Church is highly indebted to you for the valuable services you have rendered to the cause of true religion through your excellent work on the *Intuitive Morals*, and for the words of sympathy you have addressed to us.

May He help us and guide us in our labours in the cause of Theism, may He vouchsafe the blessings of truth unto our brothers and sisters here and in other countries—is our humble prayer to God, Who alone is our hope and strength.

Yours faithfully, in the cause of Theism,

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

BRAHMO SOMAJ, JORASANKO,

Calcutta, 22nd March, 1863.

• *Second Letter.*

COLOOTOLAH, CALCUTTA, 10th September, 1869.

DEAR MADAM,—It gives me great pleasure to inform you that I contemplate going to England early next year. I have for a long time past cherished a desire to visit that interesting country, and I was eagerly seeking an opportunity. The many kind messages I have received from you and other friends there have since intensified my interest in your country and increased my longings to see it. A visit to England will enable me to study the social institutions and customs of the country, to watch the progressive religious movements which are being carried on in that centre of modern civilization and enlightenment; and likewise to spread such knowledge of the social and moral condition of India among the English public as may rouse England's true interest in the welfare of her vast Eastern dependency, and bring the two countries into closer union conducive to mutual good. I also hope to be enabled to put forth my humble endeavours to secure the sympathy and interest of all liberal-minded persons in England and the Continent for the Brahmo Somaj in India, and to extend the circle of Theistic fellowship. It is for these reasons, and not from any worldly motive or mere curiosity, that I wish to visit England. However unworthy I may be, the nature of my mission will, I have no doubt, commend my work to the hearts of hundreds, and bring about that general sympathy which is essential to success. But I shall look chiefly to you, dear Madam, and others whom I happen to know, and who take such kind interest in me and my work, for the help and guidance which may be needed in a foreign country. Above all, I must repose faith and trust in my God, who blesses all our efforts in the cause of Truth with success. When I look up to Him I forget that England is a foreign country—I feel that your country is as much my home as India; and I most confidently hope that during my sojourn in that distant land I shall not, with my affectionate brethren around me and my Merciful Father overhead, lack needful support for my body and soul, and for the success of my mission.

I am sincerely sorry your last letter has remained unanswered for a long time. In compliance with your wishes I have already forwarded a large number of our publications to Miss Collet with a request to arrange for their sale in England.

Ever yours in Theistic fellowship,
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Third Letter.

THE BRAHMO SOMAJ OF INDIA,
COLOOTOLAH, CALCUTTA, 21st December, 1869.

DEAR MADAM,—I thank the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for the Resolution passed by them, a copy of which you have kindly forwarded to me. I accept it as a valuable proof of their kind interest in me and my work. It is, indeed, very encouraging to me that they appreciate my humble services to my country and are so eager to offer me an affectionate welcome on my approaching visit to England.

I intend to leave India in the middle of February, and you may expect me in London in the last week of March. No arrangements have yet been made for lodgings. I am glad to learn there are many in England who sympathize with me, and would like to offer me hospitality. As for yourself, it is superfluous to assure you that I shall see you as often as I possibly can during my stay in London and shall enjoy the pleasures and benefits of your company. You are probably not aware of the profound respect and gratitude which my countrymen cherish towards you for the valuable spiritual aid they have received from your various theological works; and it will give me the sincerest pleasure to be able to tell you personally how immensely we are indebted to you. With reference to the extremely flattering terms in which Rev. Mr. Martineau speaks of me, I must confess I am not worthy of the same. I need not say I shall esteem it a great favour to be permitted to enjoy his company constantly. You will be pleased to remember me with my best regards to Sir John Bowring, whose kind invitation I thankfully accept.

Heartily yours, in Theistic fellowship,
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

After this letter Mr. Sen came to London and I saw him frequently and introduced him to my friends. It is unnecessary to reprint the many notes I received from him referring to these arrangements.

Fourth Letter.

COLOOTOLAH, CALCUTTA, 4th January, 1871.

MY DEAR MISS COBBE,—Your welcome letter has given me great joy. It revives pleasant recollections and associations, and makes me feel that, though far, we are near each other in spirit. How sweet is Theism! It makes us one in spirit. Do you remember what good Mr. Channing

said when we were together? "Three in one and one in three!" I am sorry I have not had much time to do justice to the work you entrusted me with. Here are a few prayers which I have just composed in great haste and amidst arduous duties. I do not know whether they will be acceptable to you. If not, you may destroy them and think no more about the matter. I wish I had more time, for I really feel honored by your kind request that I should contribute to your collection of prayers, and would feel delighted to do anything in such a cause for you. The *Indian Mirror* has been converted into a daily paper, and hence it takes up much of my time, or I could have sent you more by to-day's mail. However, Mr. Martineau and the other contributors will do very well, and I am sure the "Collection" will be interesting and useful.

Hoping to be remembered to Mr. Channing and the other English friends, with kind regards.

I remain,

Yours most affectionately,

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Accept Mrs. Sen's best thanks for your kind and precious gifts.

Fifth Letter.

COLOOTOLAH, CALCUTTA, 24th June, 1871.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have much pleasure in acknowledging your welcome letter and a copy of your new prayer-book "*Alone to the Alone.*" The title is beautiful and happily chosen. I have not yet had an opportunity of going through the book as it is passing from hand to hand, and there is no knowing when I shall have it again. From what I have seen of it I have no hesitation in saying it is the best book of the kind, and will supply a long-felt want of the Theists both here and in England. There is hardly any devotional guide in the English language which we can conveniently use without shocking every now and then our religious instincts and disturbing our communion with the God of love. But with the aid of your excellent book a Theist may, in the depths of his heart, sweetly pray, "*Alone to the Alone.*" One thing I regret—the book is too small. The second edition will, I hope, be much larger. I must say I feel greatly honoured by the prominent place you have accorded to my contributions. I fully agree with you that we want no Apostles' or Nicene Creed, no Thirty-nine Articles to ensure uniformity; for in the inmost heart of every Theist the essentials of faith are the same. Your book is a standing proof in the theological world of this important truth. It is not dogmas that make us one, but the Spirit of

God working in us. How pleasant is it to think that Theists of diverse races and countries, though unknown to each other, are one in heart, and speak the same language of faith, love and prayer. The "*Spectator*" thinks our creed is simple. What if it is so? Is it not true and sweet too? The soul does not want complicated theology or elaborate dogmas; it needs God. It is the beauty of Theism that it enables us to find rest and peace in the simplest of all truths—*God is*. We thank God that He has given us concentrated food for the soul in a short creed. * * * How I love England now because of so many Theistic brothers and sisters! Let our family extend on all sides; let hundreds upon hundreds enter the house of God. The heart rejoices even in the thought of such a consummation. The signs of the time are encouraging. Happy, happy we are that God has made us Theists; happier we would be if we could do our appointed work.

God bless you, my dear Miss Cobbe, brother Channing, Miss Sharpe, and all our Theistic brethren in England!

Believe me, yours affectionately,
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Friends here are anxious to have "*Alone to the Alone*." If you could persuade your publishers to send me ten copies they will be sold in a few days.

Sixth Letter.

COLOOTOLAH, CALCUTTA, 11th October, 1871.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Many thanks for the trouble you have taken to write to Mr. Grant Duff on the subject of the Brahmo Marriage Bill. We had a public meeting in Calcutta lately, to elicit public opinion in support of the Bill. The proceedings of the meeting you will find in a pamphlet I have forwarded to your address. My speech will give you some idea of the objections which have been raised against the Bill, and which have caused considerable delay in the passing of the Bill, and also my replies to the objections. It is strange that a man like Mr. FitzJames Stephen should have been influenced by the fallacious and absurd arguments of the obstructive Brahmos. It is morally impossible that a man who knew the real facts of the case should be against us in this matter. Truth, justice, civilization and morality are on our side, and the whole history of Indian legislation supports the Bill. The lecture delivered at the public meeting above alluded to on the "Marriage Law in India" proves the latter point. A copy of it has been sent to Miss Collet; should you feel inclined to read it, she will gladly lend it, and you may

keep it till I send more copies. I am very anxious that Mr. Grant Duff should know our position and realize the necessity of passing the Bill in some form or other. If you like you may send the two pamphlets to him for his perusal, provided, of course, he feels interested in the matter. Let him do nothing if he thinks truth is not on our side and that we are not entitled to relief. We are fighting a hard battle, and our opponents are giving us much trouble by the dishonesty and unfairness of their proceedings. But God is on our side, and His cause, the cause of Truth and Purity, will prevail at last.

I feel thankful for the books presented, and shall gladly apply the proceeds of sale to some good purpose.

Yours very affectionately,

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Seventh Letter.

THE "BRAHMO SOMAJ" OF INDIA,

CALCUTTA, 25th June, 1872.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your truly affectionate letter is before me, and I thank you most heartily for the kind words you have said. The sympathy of friends like yourself is a source of comfort and strength on which, I must gratefully confess, I mainly rely in times of difficulty. A letter from you cannot fail to bring joy and hope to my heart, though it may contain only one word of appreciation of my humble work. You ought to remember that in writing encouraging messages you not only gladden a friend's heart, but you give an impetus indirectly to the great work of reformation now going on in India by intensifying my faith and that of my friends and co-workers here. How thankful I am to God that you so thoroughly appreciate the *sweetness* of our faith. Really, Theism is as pure as it is sweet; it sanctifies and gladdens the soul. We are fortunate that we have known God to be not only our Father and Saviour, but our Friend in whom is joy. We are fortunate that we have been spared the necessity of looking beyond God to a creed or a heaven for the attractions of religion; *in* Him is all the attraction that the Theists seek here and hereafter. Idolatry in some form or other must take hold of the mind unless there is a vivid recognition of the God of Theism. Men find it difficult to attain peace and joy in an invisible Spirit, and therefore clothe Him with flesh and form of an attractive and lovable character. But closer acquaintance with the realities of the spirit world enables us to overcome this prejudice, and the habit of communion makes the Unseen Spirit as dear and sweet to the Theist as the most visible form may be to those who believe in an

idol or an incarnation. Nay more, our God is not merely a sweet object of worship to be approached only in times of worship, but a Presence full of joy and peace wherein we abide and move always when we pray and also when we work. I wish all England and all India believed this. How happy would we be if it were so.

The differences among the congregation of the Brahma Mandir have been lately settled. Special seats have been reserved for the ladies.

Where is Mr. Channing now—that good soul and true? I wish we could again meet in your house and talk of the depth of our Father's love.

Kindly give him my love, and

Believe me, My dear Friend,

Yours very sincerely,

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Eighth Letter.

LILY COTTAGE,

72, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA, 26th April, 1878.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your kind letter has given me great relief, for which I thank you most sincerely. In the midst of my present trials and difficulties it is truly a Godsend. My antagonists have impeached my character, showered upon me abusive epithets of all kinds, and represented me before the public as one who, for fame and wealth and worldly advantages, has unhesitatingly sold his conscience and his daughter! This is indeed the substance of the charges preferred against me, and an insinuation to this effect is to be found, I am told, in the so-called Protest. If my conscience acquits me, none can convict me. Of this I am sure, that I never sought a Rajah. I never coveted filthy lucre. As a private man I should not probably have acted as I have done. But I was acting all along as a public man, and one course only was open to me. The British Government sought me and my daughter; a Christian Government that knew me thoroughly to be a Brahma leader proposed the alliance, and the weighty interests of a State were pressed upon me with a view to induce me to accept the proposal and make the needful concessions. I found such arguments as these placed before me:—Here is the Cooch Behar State, the den of ignorance and superstition, with a corrupt court given to dissipation, polygamy, intrigue and oppression. The young Rajah has been saved by the British Government acting as his guardian. The women of the Raj family have been mostly removed to Benares, and others will follow. The administration of the affairs of

the State has greatly improved in all departments, education, police, revenue, health, &c., under the management of competent officers appointed by the British Government. The old palace will be pulled down shortly, and a new palace will be erected at a cost of about Rs. 8,00,000. Not a vestige will remain of the old *regime* and the ground will have been thoroughly cleared for political and social improvements where the young Rajah will be formally installed and begin to govern his immense territory. It is desirable, it is of the utmost importance, that he should have an accomplished wife. Should he marry a girl of 7 or 8 in the old style, the effects of the education he has hitherto received will be neutralized, and he will surely go back into the evil ways from which he has been saved. A good and enlightened wife, capable of exercising always a healthy influence on the Rajah, is the "one thing needful" in the Cooch Behar State. The Government in presenting these arguments before me seemed to ask me whether I would give my daughter in marriage to the Maharajah and thus help forward the good work so gloriously begun in that State by our benevolent rulers in the interests of millions of the subject population. I could not hesitate, but said at once, under the dictates of conscience, "Yes." You have justly said that a grave responsibility would have rested upon me had I refused the overtures of Government. In fact, I wonder how you have so clearly realized this position, and so fully grasped the real secret of the whole affair. I have acted as a public man under the imperative call of public duty. All other considerations were subordinated to this sacred call, this Divine injunction. I saw, I felt that the Lord had himself brought before me, in the strange ways characteristic of His providence, the young Maharajah of Cooch Behar for alliance with my daughter. Could I say "No"? My conscience bade me obey. And there I was, an enchained victim before a strange and overpowering dispensation of the living Providence of God. I did not calculate consequences, though most beneficial results I could not fail to foresee; I did not reason, I did not go through elaborate logical processes of thought, I did not refer to others for advice, though I saw clearly that the contemplated step involved risks and hazards of a serious character, as the Rajah was an independent Chief and might fall back upon evil customs prevalent in his territory. I trusted, I hoped with all my heart that the Lord would do what was best for me, my daughter and my country. Duty was mine, future consequences lay in the hands of God. So I acceded to the main proposal of Government, and negotiations went on between myself and the Deputy Commissioner. It was at first proposed that the Rajah

should marry under the Marriage Act and the Government made no objection. I was assured that the Rajah had no faith in Hinduism, but a *public* renunciation of the Hindu faith was objected to on political grounds. Mr. Dalton wrote to me: "As a fact he does not believe in it (Hindu religion), but profession and faith are two very different things." He added, "These are difficulties, but I think they may be got over, and when you reflect on the benefits to the cause of enlightenment which may result from this marriage, I feel sure you will smooth our way as far as you can even to the extent of conceding somewhat to Cooch Behar's superstition. The greatest difficulty I see in the way is the public declaration to be made in Cooch Behar by the Rajah that he does not profess Hinduism. If that can be dispensed with, I think other difficulties may be got over. You must remember that Act III. of 1872 does not apply to Cooch Behar and that there will be nothing illegal in leaving out this part of the programme." (Deputy Commissioner's letter, dated Calcutta, 24th September, 1877.) Touching the match itself and the question of rites, the following occurs in the same letter:—"The Commissioner, Lord Ulick (Browne), has written to me expressing his warm approval of the proposed engagement, and asking me to obtain from you in writing 'what you require,' that is to say, to state in writing the points in which the celebration of the marriage must differ from the Hindu ceremony."

You will see from the above that at the very first stage of the negotiations I was satisfied that the Rajah was not a Hindoo, that in the marriage rites there was to be a departure from established Hindoo ceremony, and that it was the intention of the Christian British Government that I should, with due regard to the beneficial effects likely to accrue from the marriage, smooth the way as far as I could, consistently with my own religious convictions, by making small concessions to local prejudices and superstitions. In other words, I should, without compromising my or my daughter's faith in Brahmoism, tolerate certain minor usages which were only childish and unreasonable. All this was encouraging at the outset, and greatly inspired my confidence. In a subsequent letter occur the following words: "The Rajah showed no distaste whatever to a Brahmo marriage." The project of solemnizing the marriage under the Act was afterwards given up as the law was declared to be inapplicable to Cooch Behar, and the Government, at the instance of the Maharajah's mother, wanted him to marry before proceeding to Europe. I of course objected to the marriage taking place so soon, but Mr. Dalton met the objection thus:—"I know it will seem difficult to

you to arrange for a wedding on the 6th March, and also that the idea of marrying your daughter before she has completed her fourteenth year is repugnant to you. But consider the circumstances and that in fact the marriage will not be a marriage in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but a solemn BETROTHAL, the Rajah proceeding to Europe immediately after the ceremony." It was on this ground that I acquiesced at last in the proposal of fixing the 6th March for the marriage. A betrothal is unobjectionable on moral grounds, and technical points of law are nothing to those who are guided by the moral law. This is quite an exceptional case, and it would be improper to stick to the letter of the law in preference to the spirit. Besides, as I myself got the Marriage Act passed, I of all others should know its true scope and the essential moral principles upon which it is based. I was anxious to prevent Native girls from marrying before the age of puberty, and the reform movement I headed was directed only against this evil, as will appear from the published report of the Indian Reform Association. From that position I have not receded, and the charge of inconsistency I therefore deny unhesitatingly. In this present instance of mere betrothal there is no early marriage, and nothing like a sacrifice of principle. Is it not a fact that the Rajah left Calcutta for Europe on the 18th of March, only twelve days after the marriage? Surely, enlightened men in England would not regard a mere betrothal as a premature *marriage*. As regards the charge of idolatry subsequently brought against the marriage rites, it will appear on a perusal of the "Statement" in the *Indian Mirror* to be equally unfounded. In confirmation of the arguments in the above paper I need only quote the following testimony from the Deputy Commissioner's telegrams:—Dated 4th February.—"Anticipate no further difficulty. Pundit started yesterday for Calcutta to arrange formula of ceremony on basis heretofore approved by you, *viz.*, Hindu form, *idolatrous portion omitted*." 23rd February.—"Hindu ceremony minus idolatrous muntras." Thus I had the assurance of Government itself that there would be no idolatry, and it is a fact that Brahma rites *were* observed on the occasion. The letters and telegrams above alluded to are all private and confidential, and I fear we have no right to publish Mr. Dalton's words. I have received a kind letter from Dr. Martineau.

Yours most sincerely,

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

Ninth Letter.

LILY COTTAGE,

72, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA. 3rd May, 1878.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote my last letter in great haste, and I fear I omitted one or two important facts, which I hasten to supply. Of the thirteen proposals mentioned in the "Statement," I give below the first two:—

1. "I am told that the Maharajah is not an idolater, and that he believes in the One True God. I should like to have a declaration from him in writing that he is in his heart a Brahmo or Theist

2. "I hope the Maharajah will not object to give me an assurance in writing in the form of a letter that he will not marry a second wife during the life-time of the first wife."

In compliance with the above conditions the Maharajah wrote as follows:—Dated 8th February, 1878. "*I believe in One True God and I am in my heart a Theist.*" ("Strictly Confidential.") *It has always been my opinion that no man should take more than one wife.*"

I give you the above extracts from private letters with a view simply to strengthen your hands in the present controversy. You may use the facts but not the words. The Maharajah verbally assured me, when I solemnly put the question in the presence of the Agent of Government as to what his faith was, that he was a "Brahmo," and that he had been a Brahmo for some time. He used to attend the Cooch Behar Brahmo Somaj now and then. And when in Calcutta, before the marriage, he often attended family prayers at my house. Perhaps the Government does not like that the Maharajah should take the Brahmo name, as that may mean an initiated Brahmo, one thoroughly identified with our church. You know the Government, by its vow of religious neutrality, cannot allow its ward to make a *public* renunciation of his faith, as that might be construed into interference with the religion of the people. I mentioned Mr. Dalton's argument, in my last letter, on this subject. But there is no objection to the word "Theist." It may be the Maharajah has been instructed by the authorities not to give himself out as an initiated Brahmo, as I hear there was some correspondence on the subject. But the Maharajah told me distinctly that though not formally initiated he was a "Brahmo." The difference between "Brahmo" and "Theist" is unreal and shadowy.

There is something important in the last letter of Mr. Dalton received immediately before the marriage and making the final concession, which I must quote:—"I consider that we are bound by the

terms of my telegram and letter—"void of idolatrous muntras," and I cannot say conscientiously that the Hom is not in a manner idolatrous. . . . In return for this concession I insist on everything in the marriage being purely Hindu, keeping of course to the original agreement *Ishwar* (God) for Bishtoo (*Vishnu*, Hindu Deity) etc." (Private letter.)

The Maharajah is expected in England early next month. He is, I believe, now in Paris, seeing the Exhibition. I hope you will try to see him in London and say a few kind words. I thank you, honored friend, most heartily for your kind letter in the "Christian Life."

Yours sincerely,
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

I enclose photographs of the Maharajah of Cooch Behar and the Maharani, my daughter, and beg you will kindly try to get them reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* or the *Graphic*, with a short notice of the Maharajah and the marriage. I am sure the publication will be interesting at the time the Maharajah is expected in London. You will find a short notice of the Maharajah in the *Indian Mirror*.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

A DREAM.

One night when all my heart was sad
And weary after toil's long day,
I to my window went, and threw
The shutters back, and tried to pray.

"Speak, God, from out the quiet stars!"—
But dark and starless was the sky,
And the last lights upon the hill
Were seen to leap and then to die.

Down on my bed I cheerless lay;
I found no peace nor slumbering;
And back behind my brows the brain
Beat, ached and beat like a wild thing.

And in my weariness of soul
That craved for rest, I wept and wept,
Till at the last I sank to sleep,
And dreamed a strange dream while I slept.

I saw an Angel in the dream,
From whom I fled in pain and fear ;
And he, with steps that floated fast,
Came ever after and more near.

At length he folded me about
With his great wings ; I shrieked and fled,
Tearing his feathers, and methought
I left him moaning, anguished

Then on I went past woods and moors
And weary grew and craved for rest,
Till, after wandering long, I came
On one that stood and faced the west.

Gold like the flame his hair ; his head
Bowed on his hands ; the glory burned
In all his robes, of sunset light :
I knew my Angel, when he turned.

I leapt and ran to clasp his feet ;
I kissed his wings that dripped with blood ;
I wrapp'd me in his robe and wept,
And weeping too the Angel stood.

* * * * *

I felt the loving Angel fade ;
Fade, too, I saw the sunset light ;
I woke, the world was sad and chill
And all was darkness to my sight.

And rising on my bed I held
My hands up in an agony ;
My blind eyes gazing wildly up
That God's skirts I might grasp or see.

"Send me thyself," I cried, as in
The vision ; "send me love and rest !"
. . . Then in the darkness I felt God
Who drew me down against His breast.

THE CASTE CODES AND POPULAR THEOLOGY OF INDIA.

I.—THE FIRST STAGES OF CASTE FORMATION.

THE whole fabric of Indian society is founded on the caste system which divides the population into a number of associated confederacies of persons who may, as a general but not universal rule, eat together, and who must not eat or intermarry with a man or woman of another caste. And, as a general rule, the men and women of such caste, who must marry within its limits, are forbidden to take partners from the same section or sect in which they are included by the sub-division of most castes into these groups. But, on the other hand, there are instances of a contrary rule, as among the Brahmans, who permit a Kulin Brahman to marry either in his own gotra or in those of a superior rank, while among the Khatris and their congeners, the Telugu Komatis, both of which are trading castes, endogenous marriages in the section to which husband and wife belong are the rule, and the commonest form of Komati marriage is between first cousins on the father's or mother's side, preference being given to maternal first cousins. Also among the castes which have no sub-divisions, all marriages are necessarily endogenous, as no one can marry outside the caste, but in some of these castes the very strict rules forbidding marriages between near relations make the connection between husband and wife so remote as to be almost equivalent to a prohibition of marriages between those connected by birth. There is among the Koch or Rajbunsi caste, who are all said to be descended from Kasyapa, a strange instance of the simultaneous existence, in the same caste, of rules forbidding and encouraging consanguineous marriages. Thus marriages between persons descended from paternal or maternal uncles are forbidden unless seven generations have intervened, while descendants of aunts

may marry after three generations, and again in one district a marriage with a uterine half-sister is permitted, and there is a tacitly observed rule that marriages between persons living outside the provincial group of villages, to which the man and woman belong, are forbidden by social custom.

All these distinctions and others to be hereafter noted prove that Indian society is an amalgamation of heterogeneous alien elements which have moulded it into a loose confederacy of caste units organised by social rules of which the most fundamental is that everyone must belong to a caste or be regarded as a vagabond and outlaw.

These laws unite the groups by a code of social custom ordained for the most part in remote ages by the caste rulers. These every member of the caste must obey, and failure to satisfy their caste fellows of their observance of these rules renders offenders liable to expulsion. It is commonly supposed that the members of these castes believe themselves to be descended from a common ancestor or from an association of ancestral founders, but no one who examines the caste lists of progenitors can possibly believe that the first framers of castes ever thought that their confederacy started from the basis of common descent. All the one hundred and forty Bengal castes, described in Risley's "*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*," except four, are divided into a number of sub-castes, and these again in most cases into septs claiming descent not from ancient human ancestors who gave them their name, but from trees, plants, stars, insects, land animals, fish and mythical names, or are differentiated by calling the septs after the names of places often widely distant from one another, and these territorial names either imply that the septs called by them were descended from ancestors who came from the birthplace whence they are named and joined the group to which they are now attached, or that they are descended from original members of the caste who had emigrated to the places indicated by the sept names. Again, in comparing together the septs of different castes we find that the sons of one parent totem who would, if the castes were constituted on the basis of family descent, all belong to one caste, are divided among a number of different castes. Thus there are sons of the Tiger (Bagh) among the septs of the Bagdi, Bagiragi, Barendra, Brahmans, Gonds, Mundas, Ooraons and those of many other castes, and the sons of the Tortoise are similarly widely

distributed among many groups, and the list of similar cases would cover a very large proportion of the sept names.

The numbers of these septs, of which there are three hundred and forty in the Dinda tribe and which are very numerous in many other castes, make it extremely unlikely that the ancestral group they form ever separated themselves from their neighbours as a united brotherhood, transmitting the right of membership to their descendants, and that no such social compact united the original nucleus of each caste, is proved by the fact that every caste once admitted or still continues to admit to its rank outsiders who gain admission by agreeing to obey the caste rules. Also the division of the Brahmans, the most exclusive of all castes, into ten territorial groups, five of the Brahmans south and five of those north of the Vindhya range, makes it exceedingly probable that these divisions denote local guilds of priests, a hypothesis which is made all but a certainty by the inclusion in the caste of the Sakadwipa Brahmans. These were originally local doctors or medicine men, and some of them still practise medicine, and they were from their reputation for magical knowledge called Magas or Magicians. They are believed to have been originally the medical magicians of Magadha or Behar, once the seat of the central Government of India, and there they are now the hereditary spiritual advisers of the Dosadhs, who are shown by their caste titles, Rai and Ram, to be the reputed descendants of the sun god Rai or Raghua, who is in the Mahabharata, the ancestor of Rama, whose history will be told further on. To this god their caste priests, called Bhukuts, offer swine, a ram, wheaten flour and rice milk, and at his festivals these offerings are eaten by the assembled caste-men, who then drink quantities of raw spirits. These practices and the offering of swine are hateful to the Brahmans, who claim to be orthodox and who will not themselves slay any living victims, and therefore the class of Brahmans who consent to be the Purohits or spiritual guides of these habitual breakers of the sacred laws of the so-called orthodox ritual cannot be regarded as having any hereditary connection with those who refuse to take life and drink spiritous liquor. These Sakadwipa Brahmans, whose origin I will further discuss presently, are divided into ninety-five Purs or territorial divisions, and their rule of marriage is that a man may marry a woman of the same gotra or line of descent as his

own, if her ancestors came from a different village or province from that to which his family belongs, but may not marry any woman tracing her descent from the same family village or province.

This original connection of these Brahmans with territorial areas points to a time when the whole population was classed according to the provinces and villages in which they dwelt, and this ancient organisation is reproduced in such titles of the Dosadh caste as Chaukidar, the police officers; Gorait, the boundary guardian and priest of the boundary snake-god, Goraya; Mahto, the village accountant; Manjhi, the village headman; and the title of Mahto or village accountant is one of those assumed by the great agricultural caste of the Kurmis.

The customs of the Kandhs of Orissa* and of the Mal Paharias of the Santal Pergunnahs also furnish further complete proof that the original members of each caste were the cultivating groups who first superseded, by permanent village settlements, the temporary clearances of forest lands made by wandering tribes, such as those still surviving in wild tracts in India, who only remain on their clearings till the fertility of the virgin soil they have cleared is exhausted. The Kandhs, who call themselves sons of the sword or rather of the crescent-shaped sacrificial knife with which they kill the victims offered to their gods, are a tribe who still retain unchanged customs which have been modified by other off-shoots from the parent confederacy formed by the union of the aboriginal forest races who made the first permanent villages with the northern races who practised the human sacrifices they have only recently abandoned. Their territory on the hill-tracts of Orissa is divided into fifty Gochis, each of which bears the name of a Muta or village, and the men and women classed as members of each of these are split up into sub-septs called Klambus supposed to be descended from a paternal ancestor. This rule of descent proves that the law-givers of the present confederacy were men of a northern race whose tribes were divided into families supposed to be descended from a common forefather, and that they in framing the tribal constitution altered the original law of matriarchal descent, which was that universally followed by the primitive southern races who founded the primitive villages which their conquerors occupied after taking women they found there as wives. But while altering the local law

of descent they retained the original law of the Indian villages, which forbade unions between men and women of the same village, for among the Kandhs a man must marry a woman of a different Gochi or village and a different Klambu from his own, and their children would belong according to the rule of paternal descent to their father's Gochi and Klambu. Also the names of the septs of the Mal Paharias, who call themselves Manjhi Naik and Sirdar or village and provincial headmen, prove that they were originally a confederacy of the inhabitants of a province which was their property, as they are divided into Ahriti hunters, Dehriti priests, Grihi householders, Manjhi village headmen, Patra, Pujhor priests, Sikdar.

This division, which includes hunters and cultivators, gives us a complete picture of the evolution of Indian village institutions. The first territorial unit was the province which among the Korwas of Chutia Nagpore, who are nomad agriculturists and hunters, was and still is the hunting ground owned by the tribe in common and separated from those adjoining it by landmarks known to and maintained by members of the community, who are made guardians of the boundaries. These wandering hunting tribes, who supplemented the food supplied by the game they killed with the produce of the clearings tilled by the women, were superseded by associated groups of cultivators who had so far improved their knowledge of agriculture as to be able to provide sufficient food to maintain the community from the better-tended crops they grew; especially from the improved yield of the originally wild rice grass, when it was planted in soil kept continually covered with a not too copious supply of water, distributed in due proportions on each plot by irrigation channels permeating the terraced fields they formed by escarping the sides of the hills they cleared.

The most important improvements in rice cultivation were those which enabled the villagers to cover the plains with rice fields and to begin the selection and perpetuation of varieties suited to different soils and methods of cultivation, which have produced the two hundred or more sorts of rice now grown by Indian ryots in the various divisions of the country. This advance in cultivation is attributed in the Gond national traditional history, called the Song of Lingal, to the immigrants brought by Lingal, the harvest god of the Linga, from the lands to the north-east of India, the southern

provinces of China, who became the Mons, Mals, Mallis and Mundas of India, called ethnographically Kolarians. But the original founders of permanent rice cultivation were the Dravidian forest-tribes of the Australioid family of ethnologists, who cleared the lands of the villages they founded, which were to descend from generation to generation of the cultivating community. The primitive type of these villages still survives in an almost unaltered form among the tribes living in villages in the forests of Central India and especially among those belonging to the mixed races formed by a union of the north-eastern Mons or Mallis with the Australioid Dravidians.

These people, as every one can testify who has lived among them, as I have done, and has seen new villages emerging from the forest, when they first clear a plot for the village, leave in its centre a number of forest trees standing, which are always to be maintained as the sacred grove of the settlement. This is called the Sarna by Mundas, and is regarded as the home of the forest gods of life, who are henceforth to protect those dwelling under their shade. Round this grove is the ring of cleared land cultivated in common by the villagers and worshipped as the sacred snake, the guardian god called by the Gonds, Goraya, who watches over the boundaries guarded by her priests, the Goraites or boundary guardians. Under the shade of the village grove is the dancing ground, the Akra of the Mundas, and it is here that dances arranged with different figures for each season are danced by the men and women at the seasonal festivals. Nowadays, both men and women generally belong to the same village, but originally by a custom still surviving among some tribes, such as the Bhuyas and Juangs, the men of each village danced with the women of another of the same province, after being invited by the women of the village where the dance was held. It was at these dances that the children born in each village were conceived, and the procreation of children by the union of men and women of the same village was strictly forbidden.

From ten to twelve villages were usually founded on the original hunting ground of each section of the tribe, and these united formed a province called Parha by the Mundas. All children born in these provinces were looked on as the off-spring of the mother trees of the sacred grove where they were conceived, and they were brought up under the guardianship of their mothers and the men of

their own village, who were looked on by the village mothers as brethren. Hence arose, when marriage was substituted for the village unions I have described, the reverence for the maternal uncles of brides and bride-grooms who are in Kurmi marriages the leading male members of the families of the wedded pair. They also perform very important functions in Dom Chiroo and Tanti marriages and in those of other castes.

The prevalence of this custom of village unions is distinctly recorded in the Mahabharata, where the women of the land of Mahishmati, the great mother buffalo (*mahisha*), who was, as we shall see, the goddess Mari-amma, the mother (*amma*) tree (*marom*), are said to roam about at will, each being unconfined to a particular husband, and this right of the women to the choice of their temporary spouses still survives in the Nair marriage. No Nair woman is bound to live with her husband for more than a month, and during the rest of her life she may select members of her caste as her successive partners, among whom, I suppose, her husband may be occasionally numbered. All property among the Nairs descends to sister's children.

All the village children were (according to a custom still surviving among the Oraons, Marya Gonds, Nagas and other allied races in India and in all or very nearly all the islands of Melanesia and some of those in Polynesia) removed when they grew old enough to look after themselves to the establishments maintained in each village for the education of boys and girls. There they were brought up under the care of the village elders and matrons appointed to look after them. They carefully instructed and practically trained them in all the duties they would have to perform in after-life, and also taught them all the knowledge possessed by the tribe, a great deal of which was imparted in traditional stories which generally interpreted the changes of the seasons and the alternation of hot and rainy seasons.

In these primitive villages agriculture was combined with hunting, and in those which were most progressive the bulk of the people were agriculturists who were trained from their earliest childhood in the strict discipline maintained over both boys and girls. Hence they grew up into the typical Indian ryots, the sturdy, industrious and obstinately conservative tillers of the soil, who are taught by their early training to obey instinctively all commands given by

those who are their superiors, whether as headmen of the village, or provincial and national rulers and their appointed deputies. It is these ryots who have retained for thousands of years the original traditions, customs and beliefs taught to their ancestors by successive generations of village elders and teachers, and transmitted by them in variant forms to the new castes formed by the union of immigrant tribes with the original forest and mountain races, and thus the institutions of every caste contain features which prove indubitably that one of the races uniting to form the present group were the first founders of Indian villages and sons of the mother tree.

II.—THE YEAR RECKONINGS OF THE PRIMITIVE CASTES.

To these farmers whose livelihood depended on their crops a national calendar telling them of the changes of the year measured by the successive seasons was a necessary instrument of progress, and hence they began from a very early stage of their national existence to frame a reckoning of annual time. As in India the weather required for the sowing, growing and ripening of the crops depends almost entirely on the monsoons, it was necessary for those who forecasted the year to find some means of determining when these periodical breezes from the north-east and south-west might be expected. The north-east monsoon was the spring wind of Southern India and the Indian Archipelago, and they found a herald of its advent in October-November in the Pleiades, the Indian Krit-takas or spinners which, as they observed, set after the sun about the 1st of November in the Indian month Khartik (October-November) called after these stars. Before the night when they first set after the sun they had for six months set before it.

The rising, culmination and setting of the Pleiades and the other stars, except the Pole Star, showed that they as well as the sun and moon described a daily circle of the heavens, going like dancers round the Pole Star as a central point. The central Pole Star they likened to the central mother tree of the village grove. It was upon the tree that the turner of the stars, sun and moon sat and made them revolve with the five fingers of his mighty hand. These fingers became the five-day, or rather five-night weeks into which they divided their year, and in this calendar the total number of seventy-two weeks assigned to the year was divided into two halves, the thirty-six steps allotted to Vishnu, the year god of the

Brahmans, and these are also called the thirty-six weeks of the goddess Brihati, said by the same authorities to rule the year. When this measurement of the year by seventy-two five-night weeks and three hundred and sixty days was introduced, I cannot decide with accuracy, but the division is clearly based on that of the three hundred and sixty degrees of the circle. This measurement of the sun circle was certainly known in Europe at a very early period, for the neolithic circles at Solwaster in Belgium are marked by thirty-six stones, separated from one another by ten degrees, as determined by Professor Harroy, and these stones surround a central stone called the *Hir-men-sol* or Great Stone of the Sun. These northern makers of sun circles apparently reckoned time by the five days week, the Scandinavian *Finxt*, and these sun circles can be traced from Europe through Syria down to Southern India. Whether any thirty-six stone circles have been found in India I have not been able to discover, but there is certainly one very remarkable group described and depicted in Lord Avebury's "*Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man*" which undoubtedly records a measurement of the year. It was found near Belgaum in the Dekhan by Col. Forbes Leslie, and consisted of two rows each of thirteen stones placed back to back with the two tallest stones in each row in the centre. They clearly denote the thirteen months of the year divided into twenty-six lunar phases, a year exactly similar to that described in Rg. I. 164,15, as that in which the centre month is alone self-begotten, to stand in the midst of six female and six male twin-born months begotten of the gods, and the whole series of thirteen months is the parent of the year, cow and calf.

In the primitive astronomical mythology the post of the ape-god turning the stars round the Pole was assigned to Canopus, the brightest star in Argo, the constellation nearest the South Pole, and he was called Agastya, the singer in the traditional popular history of South India, the father of its three indigenous tribes. These are the Cholas called Kols in Bengal, the Ghirus, sons of the bird (*Ched*, *Chir*, *Hindi*, *Chirya*) and the Pandyas or fair people who, as we shall see, successively peopled India. Also this star is the reputed parent of the septs of the Tantis or weavers called sons of Agastya Rishi, and one Santal sept, including in it ten sub-septs, claims descent from the Saren or Pleiades.

But before this tradition of the ape father of the Indian people, there was, among the matriarchal races, who only reckoned the parentage of the mother, an earlier form of the same belief which is still preserved among the Thibetan Buddhists. In their cosmogony the parent of mankind was the ape mother Dolma or Mani Kabum, who was miraculously delivered of six sons whose father was Shenrazig Wungch'yuh, the visible light of the Pole Star god, and she was the goddess called in the Rigveda Vrishakapi, the rain (varsha) ape wife of Indra, the rain god.

But this astronomical story of the rain ape turning with her or his hand the stars round the Pole cannot possibly embody the original conception of the year ruled by the north-east and south-west monsoons, and to find this we must go back to the most primitive form of the year reckoning by the monsoons conceived by the races who measured time by the Pleiades year and its five-night weeks. The annual recurrences of the fertilising monsoon rain, beginning in Southern India with the north-east monsoons of October-November, were, in the belief of the first observers of the signs of the seasons, announced by the cloud-bird which, first appearing as a fleck on the horizon, whence the monsoon is coming, grows into the army of clouds which blacken the heavens and proclaim in the deluges of rain and the thunder and lightning it brings the coming of the heavenly ruler who, in the guise of a destroying devastator, is to bring fertility to the soil and a welcome succession of growing and ripening crops to feed the dwellers in the land. This cloud-bird is the water-bird called Khu by the Egyptians and Akkadians, who became in Indian tradition the Shu bird, parent of the widely spread race who can be traced from the Euphrates to the coasts of Orissa as the Shus, sons of Susinag of Shushan in Persia, the Su-varna or race of Su, who in the Mahabharata rule the mouths of the Indus, the Sau-vira of Bau-dhayana, who mentions them between the Pundras and Vangas of Bengal, and who are the caste now known as the Saars, Savars, Savira, who still live chiefly as jungle tribes in Bengal, Orissa, Chutia Nagpur, Madras and the Central Provinces. But these people, though they are now chiefly jungle-wanderers, occupied, according to tradition, a very prominent place in early national history. They are said to have conquered the Chirus, a statement which I think must rather mean that they amalgamated with the Jat, sons of the sun-falcon of

Asia Minor, who are very nearly allied to the Chirus, and that the descendants of the cloud-bird and sun-bird became the united Chiru confederacy who ruled Magadha from the earliest traditional era to their conquest by Khayas Khan in the sixteenth century, leaving to the Chiru Raja of Chainpur in Sasseram, when I knew, only the memory of the former power of his forefathers. These sons of Su call themselves in Bengal the sons of Kasibak, the heron or water-bird, and Salmach, the Sāl-fish, a totem parent which, as I shall prove, shows them to be connected with the sons of the Sal-tree. Their present form of marriage proves them to have been amalgamated with the great Kushika race I shall describe presently, for the bond of union between their brides and bridegrooms is that ratified by tying the hands of both together with Kusha grass (*Poa Cynosuroides*), a ceremony common, as we shall see, to many of the cultivating eastern clans who trace their descent from Kashyapa, the Kushika father.

But the storm-bird which, as the primitive nucleus of the bird-born race, descended from the monsoon clouds assumed a different aspect in the theology of the Mundas, Mons or Mallis, one of the ethnological factors that united with other tribes to form the widespread race of the Malays. These people, whose aboriginal home was on the hills of Southern China, did not hate the sun like the Indian races, who dreaded its withering rays. To these dwellers in the rainy land of their birth the sun was a kindly mother, who dried and warmed them when chilled by the rain, and it was by the course of the sun that they measured their years. To them the symbol of the parent god was the sun-hen, the jungle fowl of India, the parent of the domestic poultry of all European nations.

In their calendar the sun-hen started on her yearly circuit round the Pole at sunset when the sun was in the south-west at the winter solstice and hence both these early years begin with the setting of the stars and the sun. Thence the sun-hen went northward for the six months called in the Brahman calendar, founded on the Munda year reckoning, the Devayana or times of the gods, and on reaching the summer solstitial point in the north it turned back on its return journey southward, called the Pitriyana or times of the fathers. This year, like that of the Pleiades, was measured by five-day weeks.

(To be continued.)

J. F. HEWITT.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

IN the last edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" the writer of an article on Indian industries and trade makes a mis-statement which is very typical of the one-sided view often taken of Indian industrial problems. In the paragraph on textiles he gives the following information regarding this industry:—"Next after agriculture, the spinning and weaving of cotton at steam-mills is the most important industry in India." He proceeds to give the number of mills 186, looms 38,420, and persons employed 163,200. The output of yarn by these mills is given as 501,294,000 lbs. Of this total, according to the writer, 243,000,000 lbs. is exported, and apparently the mills themselves consume enough yarn to make up 95,320,000 lbs. of woven goods; there is, therefore, a balance of 162,974,000 lbs. of yarn turned out by the steam-mills, or nearly double the quantity consumed by themselves, which is unaccounted for either by exports or by manufactured cloth. Besides this surplus there is an import of cotton yarn to the value of 24,600,000 rupees. Where does all this yarn go to? If the writer had reflected on the significance of his own figures, he would have been reminded of the existence of a native hand-loom industry which numbers over one-third of the entire industrial population of India, or, roughly, about 5,000,000 workmen! He has fallen into the common, but very serious, mistake of taking the industries, mainly supported by European capital, to represent the whole industry of India; yet for every man employed by the European mills there are about thirty skilled weavers at the native hand-loom. The amount of yarn imported from Europe, added to that turned out by the Indian mills, is by no means a true index to the importance of this gigantic native industry, for in a great many districts the weavers use only hand-spun yarn which is made locally. I am not aware of any reliable statistics as to the value of the entire out-turn of the native

hand-loom, but it must very largely exceed the whole production of the steam-mills. Without putting too much reliance on census statistics one can get some idea of the importance to India of this hand-loom industry by endeavouring to imagine what must be produced by the shuttles of an effective army of the most skilful weavers, approximating in number to the entire population of London, plied with the enduring patience of the oriental through most of the hours of daylight, week in, week out. If it is a remarkable fact that they have been able to survive so long the competition of all the marvellous textile machinery of modern Europe, it is still more surprising that an authority on Indian affairs, writing for a great standard work of reference, should ignore altogether the part they take in the Indian industrial system.

The total number of artisan population of India, actually engaged in industrial pursuits, is approximately twelve millions. Compared with European countries this may seem to bear a very small proportion to the total population, but it must be remembered that owing to climate, habits of life and social conditions, the wants of the natives of India are very small compared with what Europeans consider to be essential for their well-being. The native has few of the artificial requirements which inexorable custom imposes upon us, and even fewer of the luxuries for which we crave. The artisans of India are hereditary handicraftsmen, bound together by the laws of caste into compact and thoroughly disciplined organisations which had their exact counterpart in the old Trade Guilds of Europe. The European Guilds have ceased to exist, but the laws of heredity even now play a not inconsiderable part in European industry. The unrivalled skill of English potters, inherited from many generations of potter families, is one conspicuous instance, and many others might be cited. It is generally the case in India that this great industrial organisation is looked upon compassionately as an interesting relic of past ages, doomed to be dissolved before the irresistible march of modern scientific progress. But, surely, this is only the view of a sect of narrow-minded thinkers, ignorant of an important phase of modern European industrial development, who would date the beginning of the world from the invention of the first steam-engine and would consign to a general limbo of disuse everything of greater antiquity.

Is there sufficient warrant for the assumption that this great industrial machine is so hopelessly antiquated and impossible of development that it must be treated as of no account in India's commercial future? Are these twelve million skilled handicraftsmen inevitably doomed to degenerate into mill "hands," packed together in over-crowded cities as the brainless drudges of automatic machinery? Is there no hope that modern intelligence and modern science can find a way for making use of the vast industrial resources which have afforded India wealth and prosperity ever since the dawn of civilisation? The answers which Indian administrators give to these questions are of vital importance to the well-being of the country. Some years ago, in the course of official investigations into the condition of native art industries, I had special opportunities of studying the state of the native hand-loom industry. Those whose knowledge of Indian handicrafts is gathered only from curiosity shops and exhibitions may be led to believe that the native textile industry is mostly concerned in the manufacture of carpets and of the brocaded silks, cloths of gold and other gorgeous apparel, which there represent the work of Indian weavers. They will be surprised to learn that the manufacture of such *articles de luxe* occupies a small fraction only of the whole industry, and is of comparatively little commercial importance. By far the largest proportion of the weavers, scattered throughout the innumerable villages and towns of India, are occupied in making the common white and coloured cloths which are the only wear of the great mass of the population. That they have suffered enormously from European competition may be realised by the fact that the yearly imports of foreign piece-goods, according to the last returns, were valued at about eighteen million pounds sterling. Even in the by-gone days when Indian cotton goods were only prevented from overflowing European markets by high protective duties, the Indian weaver had always been kept in a state of semi-slavery by the rapacity of the native middlemen. Now that the imports of European piece-goods have made the middlemen largely independent of the native weaver's labour, their condition is still more miserable. But their sedentary occupation renders them unfit for most kinds of manual labour, and until famine drives them out-of-doors, the weavers will cling to their looms. They are skilful workmen and patient, un-

complaining creatures, satisfied if by working most of daylight hours they can earn enough for bare subsistence. Mechanically, the ordinary native loom is very much the same as the old-fashioned European loom, still largely used in Scandinavia. In other industries modern inventions, such as the sewing machine, have been introduced into India, and readily adopted by native artisans; but, though his industry is of far greater importance than all the other native handicrafts, no one has ever tried to help the unfortunate weaver, and he is generally in too abject a condition to attempt to help himself.

The first and one of the most important improvements ever made in weaving apparatus was invented in 1733 by an English weaver, John Kay, who, wearied with the slow process of throwing the shuttle by hand, contrived a simple mechanical device for jerking the shuttle backwards and forwards by pulling a string attached to a lever. This not only relieved him of the labour of throwing the shuttle by hand, but doubled the speed of the shuttle! John Kay's invention, called the fly-shuttle, gave an enormous impetus to the English trade, and was the beginning of England's supremacy in the textile industry. In the course of one of my official tours I saw some European fly-shuttle looms in a mission industrial school in the Madras Presidency, and was much struck with the facility with which they were worked by native converts who had had no previous experience in weaving. But such is the helplessness and conservatism of the native caste-weaver that even when such an effective improvement is brought to his doors, he is very slow to adopt it, and I never came across it in any of the looms of the thousands of caste-weavers, which I visited in the Madras Presidency. However, several years afterwards I was taking part in an enquiry into the industries of Bengal, and in an old official report I found an allusion to a large and unusually flourishing colony of weavers in Serampore, and the surrounding districts, whose prosperity was attributed to an improved loom in which the shuttle was jerked by a string attached to a lever. Serampore, which is situated on the Hooghly, a little above Calcutta, was one of the settlements of the Danish East India Company, and among other interesting historical associations it is famous for having given shelter to William Carey when the old John Company found his presence in British territory inconvenient. It was from Carey's printing press at Serampore that

the first vernacular translation of the Bible was issued, followed by many others. A visit to Serampore showed me that the improved loom, referred to in the report, was simply the adaptation of the fly-shuttle to the ordinary native loom. I further ascertained how it was that only in this quiet little corner of India the caste-weavers had been induced to adopt this most effective improvement. It appears that sixty or seventy years ago some Europeans had started a hand-loom factory and imported European looms. The local weavers were employed in the factory and had learnt the use of the fly-shuttle and a few simple labour-saving devices in the preparation of warp. The factory, however, did not exist for long, but when it was closed the weavers went back to their ordinary work, taking the fly-shuttle and other improvements with them. The effect of these has been just as remarkable in the case of the Serampore weavers as it was in the English hand-loom industry more than a century before. The hand-loom workers in the surrounding districts to the number of about 10,000, who adopted these improvements, have doubled their earnings, and though they are in close proximity to the great port of Calcutta, where day by day steamers unload their thousands of bales of foreign piece-goods, they have been able to maintain a fairly prosperous and independent condition in the face of the competition of the power-loom. The Bengal Government promptly took action to place the 400,000 weavers in other districts in a position to take advantage of these improvements by sending selected weavers from every district to be taught at Serampore. At the same time carpenters were sent to be taught to adapt the fly-shuttle to the native looms in the least expensive manner. The ordinary native loom can be converted into a fly-shuttle loom at a cost of about ten rupees. The question also began to arouse public interest, and some of the delegates of the National Congress were inspired to organise an Industrial Exhibition in Calcutta at the Congress meeting in 1901, where the practical working of the fly-shuttle was demonstrated side by side with the old native loom, and a number of caste weavers were brought to see it. The exhibition is apparently to be a permanent side-show to the political gathering of the Congress, for another was held in Bombay last December and seems to have aroused the sympathy of the Government, who doubtless recognise that it will be an unmingled blessing to India if the Congress party temper

the fervour of their political propaganda with rather more practical interest in the industrial development of the country. The Indian press aided me in making the facts known in other parts of India, with the result that during the last twelve months the question has been taken up more or less vigorously in almost every province of British India and in many of the Native States, especially in Mysore, where four weaving schools have been sanctioned expressly for teaching weavers the use of the fly-shuttle. In the Bombay Presidency energetic steps have been taken by District Boards and by local officials interested in helping the hand-loom industry. Grants-in-aid amounting to 50,000 rupees have been voted and schools have been opened at Sholapur, Bijapur and other great weaving centres. A recent report sent in to the District Board of Bijapur states that the school has created the greatest interest among the neighbouring weavers, numbering about 12,000, who are coming in every day from the surrounding villages to receive instruction.

While it is yet far too soon to expect actual results which can demonstrate statistically the benefits gained by the weavers from these new centres of instruction, it is quite possible to establish from facts already known a sound policy for the future official attitude towards the great hereditary handicrafts of India. It is already a fact beyond dispute that two or three simple mechanical improvements have enabled about 10,000 weavers in the districts round Serampore to nearly double their earnings—that is, instead of an average of 4 or 5 rupees monthly, they now earn from 7 to 9 rupees. There are various technical difficulties which prevent the fly-shuttle being used for all classes of weaving, but for the great majority of the weavers it would be an enormous advantage. Supposing that 4,000,000 weavers were thereby enabled to increase their earning in the same way as the Serampore weavers have done, it would mean that their total monthly earnings would be increased by 12,000,000 to 16,000,000 rupees, or an annual increase of 144,000,000 to 192,000,000 rupees, a sum approximating to two-thirds of the total value of the yearly imports of foreign piece-goods. When it is further considered that the improvements which have already done so much for the Serampore weavers are the very first of a long series begun in 1733, and that the latest English hand-loom is five or six times as effective as the old-fashioned loom, now used at Serampore, it is possible to

realise the splendid future which might be opened out for the Indian hand-loom industry. There can hardly be a doubt that were the most effective modern hand-loom placed in the hands of the skilled and industrious Indian weavers, they could supply the greater part of the textile requirements of India at prices with which the highly capitalised power-loom factories would be unable to compete. On the other hand, the spinning mills of India would benefit very largely by the increased demand for yarn which a prosperous hand-loom industry would create.

I had an opportunity recently of seeing a demonstration of the capabilities of the latest English hand-loom in a factory at Cairo. A Belgian company had imported the looms which, though a marvel of mechanical ingenuity, are perfectly simple in manipulation. Under the supervision of a single trained foreman a number of Arab boys and men, who had had no previous experience of weaving and were delighted at the opportunity of displaying their newly-acquired skill, were working these looms with a facility which was evidently a source of great satisfaction and profit both to themselves and to the company. The results of the first year's working had been so satisfactory that the company had resolved to extend its operations by a large increase of capital. It is already well known to the textile trade that of late years the hand-loom, under favourable conditions and in certain classes of weaving, has even in Europe been steadily regaining some of the ground which, it was believed, had been finally occupied by the power-loom. But I believe it has not yet been realised what a splendid field might be opened for it in countries like India and Egypt, where the old hand-loom industry is still alive and where the cost of skilled labour is very much less than it is in Europe. In Egypt there are still 30,000 hand-loom weavers who, with the primitive hand-loom of antiquity, have yet survived the competition of the power-loom.

The existence of these great organised armies of skilled handicraftsmen, both in India and in Egypt, points to the unwisdom of working exclusively on the lines of Europe's nineteenth-century industrial methods in the economic development of these countries. If the village handicrafts of India can be developed to a high degree of prosperity by other methods, surely it is nothing less than a

crime to allow the villages to be depopulated and to crowd the inhabitants into filthy factories, polluting both earth and sky, where all their mental and moral faculties are debased. Should not the social evils caused by industrial development in Europe and America give Indian statesmen pause before they commit themselves to a policy which, if attended by many evils in Europe, would be a far greater curse to India? Hitherto, the view of India's industrial interests generally taken by Indian Administrations has been that which Mr. Carnegie has deprecated. They have devoted the whole force of the State machinery to the development of the export trade, leaving the home industries to take care of themselves. They have nearly always assumed that India's industrial future is safe in the keeping of the enterprising and clear-headed merchants who control the trade of the great Indian sea-ports. But it must be clear that the interests of the capitalists engaged in Indian commercial enterprises run in a narrow groove and do not always coincide with the larger interests of the Empire. Already in Europe there are signs which indicate that before many generations have passed we shall come to regard many phases of the last century's industrial development as a hideous social nightmare. When electricity has taken the place it will eventually take in our industrial system, there can hardly be a doubt that many industries will return to the villages and many pestiferous rookeries in the great towns will be cleared off the face of the earth. Why then regard as the only policy in India that which means the multiplication of such social plague spots? India is intended both by nature and by the genius of her inhabitants to be a hand-worker's paradise. Why should we only employ methods originating in totally different conditions of social economy, and give her an inferno for her paradise?

E. B. HAVELL.

THREE CENTRAL INDIAN STATESMEN.

THE types of statesmanship exhibited in the careers of Zalim Singh, the Ruler of Kotah, Jantia Jagh, the Regent of Indore, and Bapu Raghunath, the Minister of Dhar, are alike in their design and consummation, though widely differing in motive and execution. These three contemporary statesmen clearly foresaw the coming rise of the English, and while greatly strengthening their own States and consolidating their power, they helped the rise of the new Power. Born in a period of transition, they profited by the lessons of the past. They appreciated the virtues of the newcomers, and they felt the inevitability of their success.

Zalim Singh was born in 1740. His father, who belonged to the Hara tribe of Rajputs, was a man of position. He was connected by marriage with the royal family of Kotah, which principality had been founded by a member of the Boondée family.

When Zalim was born, the state of India was one of anarchy. The Maratha power in the South had not yet attained its zenith, and the Moghul Empire was slowly crumbling to pieces. The weak and exhausted state of Rajputana invited attacks from outside. The Portuguese had already had their palmiest days and the battle of Plassey was yet to be.

Under the Maratha supremacy, during 1750-61, there was some order in Rajputana, but with the crushing defeat of that power in 1761, the noxious old disorder began once more to prevail. The horrible state of the country during his boyhood created a deep impression on the mind of Zalim. It was not, however, before Zalim was 31 years of age that he brought himself to the notice of his master. This was the period of his youth, as also of the misrule which prevailed in the land of the Rajputs. Zalim slowly but surely helped Kotah to become independent. The stronger power of the Jats helped to keep Kotah in the background, which greatly assisted

its quiet progress. Consequently when Zalim, at the advanced age of two and sixty, found himself at the head of affairs, he found his city to be the rendezvous of all political refugees. Not even Jaswantrao, who was a terror all over the country during the first five years of the new century, could compel him to surrender to him his enemies, whether a foreign commander like Monson, or his own servant, like Wadenaik. But Zalim found that he could not create an independent power. He was no match in diplomacy or valour for the English. He had been the witness of the stubborn resistance offered by Monson and the defeat and retreat of Jaswantrao, from Hindustan. On the first opportunity he proposed an alliance with the English, which had been his object from the first.

Secure in his foreign relations, he next devoted his attention to the development of his State.

A vast change had been wrought in the fortunes of India since the birth of Zalim. He saw the passing away of the Moghul Empire, which was followed by the downfall of the Maratha confederacy. During the years 1800-1818, he himself took an active part in the politics of Central India, and it was he who saved Kotah from being absorbed either by Sindia or by Holkar. It was due to his genius that when the subjects of the other States were ruined, those of Kotah were happy and contented. But Zalim cannot be accorded a high place in the galaxy of statesmen. Neither patriotism nor loyalty, but selfishness was the guiding motive of his life. In early life when his master was dissatisfied with him, he left him and joined the standard of Udeypur, where he no doubt won renown by his valour. When he again came to his native place, it was only to exercise greater power than he had ever enjoyed before. His true motive was laid bare when in making terms with the English he posed himself as the *de facto* ruler of Kotah. And when the distribution of territory was made after the battle of Mahidpur, he declined to accept* the restored districts of Kotah for himself, but insisted upon their being amalgamated with the Raj. In this his object was that he should never lose his connection with the principality. He indeed stipulated with the English that he and his heirs and successors should ever rule Kotah, while the real masters should always remain nominally so. He even went to the length of fighting with his new master

* Prinsep.

in 1820, and succeeded in subduing him. As long as he lived he enjoyed and retained his position. It was after his death that the British Government was obliged to withdraw its support from this false arrangement. Dreaded by all, but not honoured, Zalim died in the year 1824 A.D.

His friend and contemporary, Jantia Jagh,* was a man of an opposite type. He was born in 1778, in a village in Khandesh, of poor parents. His father's name was Mahadeo Naik. The hereditary calling of his ancestors was money-lending. His father, however, did not flourish in his business. To add to his misfortunes, he lost all that he had in the sack of Poona by the Nizam. He proceeded to Khandesh to earn his living as best as he could. And amid these circumstances Jantia Jagh was born.

According to a tradition a piece of good luck appears to have fallen to him during his sojourn at a wayside village. One day Jaswantrao Holkar appeared to pass that way. He was then in great distress, and begged something of this poor Brahman. Fearing greater consequences, he complied with the request, for which he was also promised future remembrance. When Jaswantrao rose to power he kept his promise in helping Jantia, whose early rise was rapid.

Jantia's father had two sons, the elder, Balaji, and the younger, Vithal, afterwards known to history as Jantia Jagh.

As soon as he received a knowledge of the three "R's", which was in those days sufficient to secure service, Balaji left his home and repaired to Maheshwar, then a flourishing capital of the famous Ahalya Bai, where he soon obtained employment in the firm of one Hari Pant Jagh, who was then the foremost trader in Malwa. He soon rose there by his ability and hereditary instinct to be the chief agent and remained so until the year 1795, after which, owing to the anarchy that prevailed after the death of the great and good queen, his agency failed.

A few years after the birth of Jantia, his father died and his mother followed him as *sati*. When ascending the funeral pyre of her deceased husband, she handed over his young son to a near relative,

* His real name was Vithal Mahadeo Kibe. The present writer has the honour of being his great-grandson. In Marathi documents he signed his name as Vithal Mahadeo. But in the treaties his name appears as Vithal Pant Jantia Jagh.

with directions to carry him to her elder son at Maheshwar. During his childhood Jantia was nursed by his brother, and when he came to be of an age to do service, he was employed by his elder brother in the service of Jagh. He continued to act as a clerk there until 1795, when the firm collapsed. To commemorate this early connection, Jantia afterwards gratefully took for himself the distinguishing appellation of Jagh, in place of his surname, Kibe.*

A youth of seventeen, Jantia found himself out of employment. In accordance with the tendencies of his age, he took up service in the army of Jaswantrao Holkar. He was first attached to the battalion of Colonel Ryan who, along with Tod and Vickers, was executed by Jaswantrao, before starting on his expedition to the north, for alleged complicity with the English. His rise in the service was helped by unusual talents and aptitude for work. When Jaswantrao succeeded to the leadership of the Holkar family, he did not forget the incident in the roadside village. He recognised Jantia as the son of his helper in need, and made him the quartermaster-general of his army. He remained in this position, with some interruption, until the approaching madness of Jaswantrao let loose all the turbulent forces in his army, and made life insecure. In this position of trust and responsibility, Jantia accompanied Jaswantrao to Poona and was present in most of his campaigns of the period. On the unfortunate execution on suspicion of some of the European officers in his army by Jaswantrao, Jantia Jagh protested against it, and was with great difficulty prevented from resigning. Although it is not possible to justify Jaswantrao in this act, yet it is not improbable that he had some proof of the compromising acts of those officers, as otherwise it is not possible to account for the continuation in his service of other Europeans, such as the Fenwicks and Boudries. All the same, that the step was a cowardly one, cannot be denied.

Jantia's first employment was under Ryan; and, actuated by the feelings of gratitude, Jantia, when regent, perpetuated the memory of this gallant commander by naming a new suburb of the city after him—Ryan Pura.

Jantia Jagh accompanied Jaswantrao throughout his expedition

* After the collapse of the firm the family of Jaghs fell on evil days. But Jantia did not forget them. He allowed them a pension, which was continued by his heirs and successors, to their descendants, until the last of them died about 1888.

to Hindustan, and was present at the interview which took place between his master and the Lion of the Punjab. The expedition to the North was a financial failure. The pay of the troops, already in arrears, could not be defrayed. And the plundering horde under Jaswantrao was on the point of rebellion. Jantia Jagh had, therefore, to divide his attention equally between commerce and his official duties. His principal duty was to pay off the army and to finance the projects of his master, who was daily leaning on the verge of madness. But as a loyal servant he had to do this. At this juncture, his hereditary instinct and his previous training stood him in good stead. In partnership with an opulent Brahman, by name Krishnaji, of Ujjain, he began to do business as a sowcar, and the profit, which he derived, was utilized for the benefit of the army. The rise of a military leader, by name Dharma Kuar, in the army of Jaswantrao, during his madness, made Jantia's position intolerable and he had to give it up.

The death of Jaswantrao was a signal for all the pent-up evil forces in the Holkar's State to rise. The atrocities which defiled the holy edifice raised by Ahalya Bai, and which were committed by Tulsi Bai and Ganpatrao, are indeed indescribable. On the occurrence of these events, Jantia once more began to take an interest in state affairs. But he soon found himself in danger. He retired to Kotah to the protection of Zalim Singh, and from this place of vantage he watched the scenes occurring at the Court of Holkar. Here was formed a friendship between two master minds, which continued to the end of their lives. With the aid of his aged contemporary and powerful neighbour, Jantia devised the means of checking the anarchy prevalent in the adjacent State. He induced Sindia's Subha at Mandessor to lend him five companies of trained soldiers and thirty pieces of cannon to check the disorder and confusion at Rampura, where Tulsi Bai, with the head of the Holkar family, a boy, lived. Zalim Singh gave him a bodyguard of 500 horse for his personal safety. Armed with these he returned to the Court. But his actions were misrepresented to Tulsi Bai. Amir Khan's Agent, Ghafoor Khan, was also friendly to him, but he, too, could not prevent Jantia's being kept under guard. Various attempts were made to remove him by murder, but the timely warnings conveyed to him on more than one occasion by Ghafoor Khan averted this calamity.

At last the crisis came. On 20th December, 1817, Tulsi Bai was murdered and her body thrown into the bed of a river. The very next morning was fought the famous battle of Mahidpur with the English. The result was disastrous to the Holkar family. Its government and the army were completely "prostrated." * The Chief, with household, was a fugitive, and the victorious army was following close behind. There was a mere remnant of the army left. This was both demoralised and left without a leader. Nothing but the forbearing policy of the British Government could save the State. The sagacious and generous Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, had, long before the battle was fought and won, drawn up instructions for the guidance of his agents. Is it a wonder that his agent, Sir John Malcolm, carried these to the letter? Negotiations from the side of the defeated and degraded foe were commenced by Ghafoor Khan, who had almost remained neutral during the battle. Jantia Jagh had always advised conciliation, and had strongly deprecated a conflict with the English. Sure of the result, he had done so. But sinister motives were attributed to him, and he was kept under guard while the battle raged. During the subsequent confusion on the close of the battle, Jantia escaped from his guards and joined the fugitive chief at Sitaman. Sir John Malcolm had made such arrangements as enabled him to know the slightest details from the enemy's camp.

Jantia Jagh's past career was a distinguished one. He was friend of Zalim Singh and Ghafoor Khan, who were both friendly to the English. He had given the best advice. There was no other man left in the service of the Holkar who could negotiate the treaty which became inevitable. Ghafoor Khan could not be expected to undertake this task. His interests and those of the Holkar were necessarily identical. His father-in-law, Ameer Khan, had already entered into an alliance with the English. He was at best a paid military commander. Jantia was both a diplomat and a commander. He had the wit to properly view the military situation as well as the political outlook. He alone could hope to succeed in the difficult task of concluding a treaty in favour of his master. Much was rightly hoped from his early acquaintance with English manners and customs. Events proved that these hopes had not been falsely raised.

* Thornton.

In reply to the message from Ghafoor Khan, Sir John Malcolm suggested* that Jantia might be deputed to him to carry on the negotiations in his camp at Mandéssor. The suggestion was at once accepted by Krishnabai, called Kesharabai by Malcolm, who was the mother of the young Chief, and who, on the defeat, naturally assumed the guiding power. A dress of honour was given to him and he was given plenipotentiary powers on behalf of the Holkar family. Thus equipped, he came to the camp of Sir John on the 3rd of January, 1818, and after due deliberation the final treaty was concluded three days later. This treaty gave a new lease of life to the Holkar's State. During the three days devoted to discussion, Jantia fought hard for the interests of his master. He* "insisted principally on three points : first, the extent of the cession for the benefit of Zalim Singh, for which he wished to unite two instead of four pargannahs ; secondly, the arrears due on account of the past year's tribute from the Rajputs, for which he solicited our guarantee ; and thirdly, the retention of the forts of Chandore and Unaba, with some villages in Khandesh and the Dekhan." "Sir John Malcolm," continues Prinsep, "distinctly refused to give up any of the above points." Even after the conclusion of the treaty, Jantia used his influence and prevailed upon Sir John to allow Holkar to retain the villages in the Deccan. Sir James Briggs † having heard of this at once wrote to Sir John, remarking that the Holkar could not be allowed any vestige of authority "beyond our Satpuras, without detriment to the British power."

That Jantia rendered very great service by successfully concluding this treaty cannot be doubted. This achievement was regarded highly by his contemporaries, and even at this distant date it loses none of its value. Aware of the fact that during the late negotiations Jantia had supported his interests, Zalim Singh conferred on him a jagir of one village, in lieu of the guard of honour, which had been sent for his protection. The conclusion of this treaty also greatly enhanced his reputation as a diplomat. He had yet to establish his name as a statesman. By this treaty Holkar's territory, although reduced in area, was made more compact. Disorder vanished, and in the wake of peace came prosperity. Jantia's own remarks on his conduct of these difficult negotiations have been preserved by Sir

* Prinsep.

† Memoirs.

John Malcolm. "He trusted, he said," writes Sir John, "that the manner in which he negotiated the treaty would be considered in his master's favour. He had not omitted, he said, to defend and maintain the interests committed to him to the best of his ability; but he had not at the same time taken a proper view of the actual condition of his master and had submitted on all points where he saw me unavailing." "I," remarks the General, "deem it a justice to Jantia Jagh to state that his conduct has been as he has represented it; nor did he bring forward one word relative to his personal interests, till all those which related to his master were finally settled."

On the next day after the signature of the treaty, Krishnabai, along with her son, the Prince Malharrao, visited Sir John Malcolm in his camp, and placed herself and her son under the protection of the British Government. This task was heartily accepted. The treaty had placed the State under British protection in regard to its foreign relations only. But this tender act necessitated the taking of the responsibility with regard to its internal matters. "Through British influence Jantia Jagh was appointed minister and vested with the powers of regent."* With the consent, concurrence and approval of Sir John Malcolm, a jagir consisting of two big villages was conferred on Jantia Jagh in the name of the Maharaja in recognition of his "very excellent" services, and for the upkeep of the dignity of himself and his heirs and successors. "Ganpat Rao," says Prinsep, "who held the high office of hereditary Dewan, was reduced to the exercise of a mere nominal authority." A jagir of a whole big pargannah was also offered to Jantia, but he refused to accept it on account of the then reduced and impoverished condition of the State. He also did not accept any salary for his services as regent, but regarded the hereditary jagir, accepted by him, as a sufficient remuneration.† What he requested Sir John Malcolm to give him personally was an assurance of the support of the British Government, and to this Sir John gladly assented. "He has hitherto continued," wrote Sir John Malcolm, "and will, I make no doubt, continue to merit and receive favour and support from every British authority."‡ The fact of the grant of a jagir was also mentioned by him in his famous report on Malwa, which is a charter of protection to the *rajas* of Central India.

* Hastings: Rulers of India; and Prinsep. † Malcolm's "Central India," Vol. II.
‡ Family papers.

These two were the only marks of favour which this eminent statesman cared to accept for his private benefit—his sole endeavour having been to look to the interests of his rehabilitated master.

He did not, as a man of lesser moral integrity would have done, misuse the entire power now wielded by him. As the official chronicle of the Holkar family puts it, Jantia rebuilt the State. His first steps were directed to clearing the old abuses and substituting new methods. Assured of the protection of the English from foreign aggression, he disbanded the rebellious troops, the necessity for which he did not see. But the greatest difficulty he felt was in the matter of hard cash. The late disturbances had exhausted the sinews of war. The private jewellery of the family had been lost in the battle of Mahidpur. The unfaithful servants of the State, who absconded at that juncture, took with them what little had been saved. Jantia's private resources, which were not withheld, were unequal to the task. He appealed to the British Government. The latter came to his aid and advanced money sufficient for his immediate necessities. The guarantee which they took for the repayment of money consisted of two items. Far away from his borders, Holkar had a district, Koonch, on the borders of Bundelkhand, which had been ceded sometime back to the English on the condition of their paying its revenue, which they did from their Delhi treasury. This district was given as a jagir to the daughter of Jaswantrao, the warlike and beautiful Bhima Bai. The annual sum paid by the English was pawned for the loan advanced. The other item was the annual tribute, which the Holkar's State used to receive from Partabgarh through the British Government as settled by a clause in the treaty of Mandessor. On the security of these sums, the loan was raised. It was expended in defraying the arrears of pay of the retained and disbanded troops, and on other necessary purposes required for the resuscitation of the State.

Jantia made Indore the permanent capital, to which place the Court was immediately removed from Rampura, where it had stayed during the greater part of the last decade. He laid the foundations of and completed a magnificent palace, which is a standing monument of his administration, for the residence of the Prince. It manifests his sincere zeal for the maintenance of the dignity of the State.

He next laid his hands on the overgrown fiefs of the military

leaders, who had usurped the greater part of the State area during the anarchy which had prevailed since the passing away of Ahalya Bai, under pretence of maintaining followers. This pretence was no longer sustainable. It was not advisable to ruin the State for the sake of these assignments, which had outlived their purposes. Jantia's own example in having refused a large fief greatly strengthened his hands. His desire was to revive the central administration. So long as the greater part of the revenue was absorbed by these military fiefs, this could not be brought about. He, therefore, reduced these enormous jagirs, and allotted a smaller number of villages to the maintenance of the erstwhile military commanders and their families. This caused some discontent, which made no headway, thanks to the support given to him by the English, and it soon disappeared. In every case sufficient care was taken to leave ample allowance for the fief-holders and their families. His operations in these matters were systematic. In a word, he appears to have anticipated the Inam Commission, which was appointed by the British Government later. The result was marvellous, but at the same time disastrous. While the revenue of the State amounted only to Rs. 4,00,000, in the year previous to the battle of Mahidpur, after these operations it rose considerably; on the other hand, the State was shorn of aristocratic families, which fact was regretfully noticed by one of the most benevolent and popular Residents at Indore, Sir L. M. Wade.

Jantia also made some changes in the system of collecting the revenue, which changes continue to form the basis of all rules on the subject to this day. It is a pity that a detailed account of his reforms cannot be given. The attempts to collect materials relating to them have not yet fully succeeded. Suffice it to say that Jantia yields to none of his contemporaries or others that India has yet produced, in so far as statesmanship in matters financial is concerned. In internal administration the two principal steps which Jantia took were:—(1) The proportionate distribution throughout the State of the standing army. This greatly helped the pacification of the country. These troops did the work of police, by which the State was saved any extra charge on that account. Their presence in the country exercised a check on the recalcitrant rayats, who were usually unwilling and procrastinating in the payment of the land tax. It also

facilitated the collection of revenue. (2) The appointment of proper men in proper places. He had under him, as his executive minister, Raoji Triumbak, who was a man of vast experience, having been associated with him from the first, though of violent temper. While the first of these qualities was a help to Jantia in deciding on administrative problems, the second instilled terror into the hearts of guilty persons, and was useful to him in checking disturbances. Raoji was more feared than Jantia himself. The hot temper of the one and the bland composure of the other endeared the latter to the public, but also inspired respect for his Government.

Besides his executive minister, who acted as Chief Secretary to him, he appointed district officers, who were in more or less absolute power, so far as their own districts were concerned. So long as a Mahal or district paid its allotted quota of revenue, its officer was not disturbed. In the more turbulent districts, on the borders of Rajput States, as at Sunel, Rampura and Garate, he appointed his own relatives as district officers. In addition to their being well-acquainted with revenue matters, the fact of their being related to the head of the State tended greatly in the direction of preserving peace in the portions under their charge. Their personal influence, which is a factor to be secured in unsettled districts, was wisely enhanced by the paraphernalia given to them. These measures secured an increasing collection of revenue from those districts. The peace established with the advent of the British supremacy in Central India made the collection of land tax easier than before. But accustomed to no government, the people, come what might, would brook no enhancement in the amount of the land tax. Jantia did not interfere with them in that point. He had to resort to other taxes to replenish the exchequer and maintain the ever-growing expenditure. Without making them felt, he raised local cesses, which were meant for defraying local expenses, and thereby reduced the charge on the central treasury. He increased the taxes on opium and on grains.

Jantia was a great believer in commerce and the prosperity which it would bring to the country. He could not induce others to move until he showed them the way. In this manner he promoted the development of the internal resources of the State. He established firms for lending money and for dealing in corn at

places of importance. He laid the foundations of private agricultural banks, which were a help to the Administration. At Maheswar he established his firm expressly for the encouragement of weavers, who were ruined during the "time of trouble." The cloth produced by them for female wear is famous. Its texture and beauty of design are not equalled anywhere in India. Rampura has always been famous for its sandal-wood industry and for cutlery, and both industries owed much to him, though now they are about to perish for want of encouragement. The result of all these steps, which he took in the interests of the State, was wonderful. The revenue, which in 1817 was only Rs. 4,41,659,* rose in 1820 to Rs. 16,93,183, and was no less than Rs. 35,00,000 in 1826, when Jantia Jagh died. The Ruler of the State had built a magnificent palace for his residence, and the capital, Indore, began to rise into prominence, while the city of Ujjain began to wane.

Recognition of his honest labours was not delayed long. In his report to the Governor-General, made in 1821, Sir John Malcolm wrote :—"The administration of Holkar's territories is good, and all the intelligence and energy of a Native Government are well-directed to the increase of its revenues, by the most legitimate means—the industry of its subjects. The Prince, being a minor, facilitated all those economical arrangements necessary to an impoverished country ; and the entire support of the British has been given to a firm and able Dewan, Jantia Jagh, who has within the period of four years restored the country to prosperity and raised the Court from a condition of penury and distress to one of comfort and respectability." Noticing the prosperity of the capital, he observed : "This City has within the space of three years changed from a desolate town to a flourishing capital." Reviewing this report, the Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings, remarked : "The good sense and experience of Jantia Jagh, into whose hands the entire administration fell, have seconded my views, and I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Court of Holkar, since the signature of the treaty."

Moved by a sense of gratitude, the Maharaja Malhar Rao conferred on Jantia Jagh an annual grant of Rs. 1,50,000, "rupees 1,00,000 to be taken per annum from Samvat 1875 (1818 A. D.) as

* Malcolm's "Central India," Vol. II.

a personal grant ; and Rs. 50,000 per annum, from Samvat 1875, to be taken for defraying the expenses on account of paraphernalia, as the said Vithal Mahadeo is acting as Minister-in-Chief : total, Rs. 1,50,000."* In the preamble of this "Deed of Settlement" it is stated that it was already "agreed" to give this grant in 1818, but the Deed was not signed then, and Jantia himself refused to accept it in the then impoverished condition of the State. The district of Khargore was allotted for this purpose. Unlike the case of his jagir, consisting of two villages, he refused to accept any guarantee from the British Government for this. The inevitable result was that after his death, this was resumed, while when an ungrateful Chief did venture to confiscate the jagir, given with the knowledge of the British Government, the British Resident caused it to be restored to Jantia's adopted son and successor, under a document signed by himself and registered. A large number of gifts of land and money donations charged upon land testify to Jantia's piety and nobility. The Sanads conferring these bear his seal thus—" *Shree Ekvirā charani talpar, Vithal Mahādeo nirantar*" (Devotedly at the feet of Ekvira, always is Vithal Mahadeo).

Jantia was not only distinguished for his internal management of the State, but he also showed considerable skill and tact in arranging its intricate foreign relations. Moreover, his services to the British Government were not rendered in his capacity as Regent of one State alone. His whole influence and weight were thrown in the scale of equity. In the settlements with the Chiefs and Thakurs all around, Jantia was ever ready to help Sir John Malcolm. Next to Zalim Singh, Jantia had a great influence over his contemporaries, and it was not inconsiderably enhanced by the wealth which he had personally amassed by commerce. He conferred not a few obligations on his fellow Chiefs. The records of many a Chief† would testify to their sense of gratitude for him. "I am satisfied," wrote* Sir John Malcolm, on the eve of his departure, "that this minister cherishes a sincere attachment to the English Government grounded on a very clear knowledge of its liberal views and policy."

The settlement of the foreign relations after the treaty of

* Family papers.

† I have seen the records of more than one Chief, which would bear me out in this.

Mandessor was no less laborious a task. "It was no easy matter, however," says a historian*, "to carry into effect the provisions of this treaty . . . Their territories being so chequered and interlaced, it was exceedingly difficult to determine what particular territory or possession had been restored to Holkar and what alienated; but in the course of a lengthy correspondence that ensued, a liberal interpretation was given to the questionable points, so far as was compatible with the engagements which had been entered into about the same time with other States, for it was assumed the rupture with the British Government had occurred in opposition to the wishes of young Malhar Rao, then in his twelfth year, and in defiance of the counsels of his legitimate advisers. Nearly all the petty Rajput principalities in Malwa had become tributary to either Sindia or Holkar, and it was now a most arduous task to separate and adjust these complicated relations."

Jantia's progressive administration was not allowed to be launched without some serious opposition. "In 1819 two insurrections broke out, which greatly retarded the settlement of the country—one was occasioned by an imposter named Krishna Kuar, personating Malhar Rao; and the other by the pretensions of Hari Rao, the Maharaja's cousin." Both these were speedily suppressed and the offenders duly dealt with. In 1821 again, disturbances broke out on the Rampura frontier, "fomented by the Thakur of Bhatkhedi and others." In suppressing these, help was rendered by the British contingent, and with the approval of that Government, the ringleaders were punished by the confiscation of their villages held from the Holkar's State. "Towards the end of 1822, it again became necessary to employ a detachment of British troops and irregulars under a British officer for the reduction of part of Barkhera. After this Jantia was not troubled by any disturbances. "The people," wrote Tod, "are contented, under the mild administration of Jantia Jagh." His methods of administering justice were summary. The district officials were almost autocrats in the provinces under their charge. But Jantia Jagh was easily approachable to petitioners. At the appointed time every day, he was seen sitting in the quadrangle of the palace, hearing petitions and deciding cases. The misconduct of any official was severely punished. Civil cases

* "The Chiefs of Central India," Vol. I.

were invariably decided by the panchayats, and criminal acts were visited with heavy punishment.

Jantia was an enlightened administrator. As early as 1821, he entered into a monetary agreement with the Supreme Government to prevent the depreciation of native coin, which he anticipated even in those early days; but the opposition to it was strong, and nothing came out of the agreement. Two months before his death, that is, in February, 1826, Jantia negotiated an Opium Treaty with the English; but, owing to unforeseen causes, it became a dead letter.

"Jantia Jagh," says an official writer,* "to whom belongs the credit of having raised the affairs of the Holkar family from a condition of the utmost depression to one of substantial prosperity, died in April, 1826. He had adopted his eldest daughter's child, Ganesh Vithal Jagh (Kibe), and a few days after his death this boy was formally invested by Malhar Rao as titular Dewan of the State."

Jantia was a man of remarkable height.† Of commanding appearance and strong constitution, he was a born leader of men. His moral character was exemplary. His devotion to his master's cause, his loyalty and his unselfishness were manifested on many occasions, where a man of less strength of will would have faltered. The jealousies of Court life more than once jeopardised his life, but his personal influence averted the danger in the nick of time. His death at the early age of 48 was universally mourned. The days that have rolled away since have possibly dimmed his achievements, but in his consummate diplomacy and high statesmanship, he can compare favourably with any statesman, of modern or ancient times, that India has produced.

Bapu Raghunath, the Dewan of Dhar, throughout his career, displayed a tendency to the happy mean, and as such deserves to be ranked between the two of his distinguished contemporaries, whose careers have been sketched above. In a way, what Zalim was to Kotah and Jantia to Indore, that was Bapu to Dhar. But, while on the one hand, he did not betray the selfishness of Zalim, he was, on the other, not quite so helpful to his master as Jantia.

A native of Gujarat, he accompanied Mina Bai, the warrior-queen of Dhar, to her husband's house. A shrewd man of business,

* Abereigh Mackay.

† I have a painting and a wooden effigy of Jantia, which will be placed in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

he watched with care and patience the interests of Mina Bai, and helped her with his sound advice and military service. Not all the valour of Mina Bai, nor all the wisdom of her counsellors, could save the State from ruin. When the British army entered Malwa in 1817, "the State of Dhar," says Sir John Malcolm, "could hardly be said to exist except in name. Its territories had been usurped or laid waste ; the Regent Bai, with her minor son, was at the head of eight or ten thousand horses or goats and subsisted on plunder."

Inspired by the example of Jantia Jagh, Bapu Raghunath tendered the submission of the Dhar State to the British Government and concluded a treaty, which secured the protection of the latter to the former. There was a strange likeness between the States of Dhar and Indore at the time, and the measures adopted in both cases were nearly the same. Sir John Malcolm observes : "A minor Prince, the adopted son of Mina Bai, the widow of the late Raja, has given the same advantages in carrying into execution economical reforms as with the State of Holkar ; nor is the Minister, Bapu Raghunath, inferior to Jantia Jagh in zeal or in a just appreciation of the generous policy of the British Government, which has restored the ruined fortunes of the Dhar family, and given it once more a rank and place among the rulers of Malwa."

For his services in concluding the treaty with the British Government, a village was given to him, and the Sanad conferring it bears the following endorsement by Sir John Malcolm* :—"This grant of the village of Kanvana, in the *purgunnah* of Badnavar, was granted by the Raja of Dhar to his minister Bapu Raghunath, as a reward for his services, with my full assent and concurrence." Eleven years later, in 1830, an appreciative master conferred on this able and faithful minister three more villages, and three items of cash allowances, through the Resident at Indore, who remarked upon the letter as follows :—"This letter received by me, from the Raja of Dhar, Ramachandra Rao Puwar, returned for Bapu Raghunath's possession, with this superscription by me upon it, in acknowledgment of the attestation of the same."†

He died at the advanced age of 65 in the faithful discharge of his duties, in the Samvat year 1893.

MADHAVARAO. V. KIBE.

* A Memorial of his descendants.

† Ibid.

POLICE REFORM.

THE Commission appointed to collect evidence with regard to the alleged shortcomings of the Indian Police, and to draw up suggestions for improvement of that body, having duly peregrinated and perambulated, during the pleasant months of the past winter, and having assembled in the invigorating climate of Simla for the production of their Report, have dispersed. That Report has not yet been given to the public, if even it has passed through the Government Press. It is, however, reasonably permissible to venture on some prediction as to what the digest will or will not contain. Do we believe that any brilliant or important results will have been attained? We do *not*; nay, more, we do not anticipate that even the most trivial or unimportant advantages will have been gained in return for so very considerable an amount of expenditure from the public funds, to say nothing of the minor inconvenience caused by absence from their posts of various highly placed officers who would, surely, have been more profitably employed in carrying out "the daily round, the trivial task."

Our contention in support of so sweeping an allegation is that the root of the evil, the essence of the cause of failure, such as there is in the general success of the Police, has never been practically approached; side issues, which could at any time have been rectified by a stroke of the gubernatorial pen, have been discussed and enlarged upon, we might veritably say, *ad nauseam*, but the *fons origo* of radical shortcomings has been either omitted or *avoided* with the most scrupulous care. We have studiously perused, day by day, the volumes of so-called "evidence"—should it not more correctly have been termed "private opinion"—recorded by the Commission, and found the occasions rare indeed when either statements made, or methods for amelioration suggested, could be, even euphemistically,

called pertinent ; on this heterogeneous mass of "evidence," the Report is to be founded.

Would it not be better, in the first place, to ascertain what causes or circumstances lead to the alleged failure of the Police, which is, in our opinion, not nearly so glaring as is so loudly proclaimed ? Many of the witnesses say, in vague terms, that the force is *dishonest*—a sweeping assertion which may or may not be true ; at any rate in no single instance were probatory facts brought forward. Even were we to admit the fact as an established axiom, which we are not prepared to do in its entirety, why—and here comes the patent fallacy of the argument—should the guardians of the law be looked upon as the *only* offenders in this respect ? Does the mere donning of uniform change the character of the man, cause him to alter all social predispositions, bring about a subversal of instinctive springs of action ; in a word, does the change of raiment render him instantaneously and essentially different from all members of his family, from his fellow-villagers, from his brother-castemen ? Yet this is what we are asked to accept on the word of testimony-volunteers : in short, *everybody* is honest and truth-telling, *except* the policeman ! A month before, when in his own home, or perchance giving sworn evidence in a case of riot, of fraud or of theft, his word was to be relied upon ; but now he *cannot* tell the truth—is he not a policeman ? And what, pray, is the proposed remedy for this inexplicable *ante-mortem* metempsychosis ? Money, the universal panacea, is recommended, *not*, let it be particularly noted, to be specially applied for the benefit of the supposed vaccillant himself, though he might have a few extra pence doled out to him, but in the shape of increase of salary for the already most highly paid officials ; "have more Deputy Inspectors-General, enhance the income of the 1st Grade District Superintendents ;" in a word, offer additional inducements to these officers and gentlemen whose reputations, we are glad to observe, have never been impugned, to exercise more watchful care over their subordinates ! The suggestion would be an absurdity, did it not trench too closely on insult. If, as is undoubtedly the case, the rates of salary all round of European officers are insufficient, or rather incommensurate with those bestowed upon others whose work, experience and responsibilities are incomparably less than theirs, the scheme of levelling

up might be recommended on the score of justice and equity ; but the attempt to purchase an extra measure of conscientiousness is an insult, and a clumsy one at that. Would the enhancement of pay, as regards the rank and file, effect the much-desired reform ? We trow not. We cannot purchase honesty, though we can reward it when conspicuously displayed ; besides, the oriental, except in the very highest classes, does not regard bribe-taking in the light of dishonesty. That the emoluments of the investigating officer, the *raison d'être* of the force, should be increased, there can be no doubt whatsoever ; but even this does not touch the true root of the evil, does not provide the measure which is, above all others, necessary for improvement, real, effective and lasting, and which we may now, without further preamble, proceed to lay down. It is, in brief, raising the status of the Force, social and official, and this is neither impossible nor really difficult of achievement, though the necessary procedure is somewhat destructive of long-cherished privilege, not, be it noted, the outcome of hereditary rank or standing, but acquired by mere accident of appointment. We know how the Police is, on every occasion, in every detail, subordinated to the Magistracy ; if this is the case in the European ranks, where even the oriental has long since perceived that one English gentleman is the equal of another, how infinitely intensified must it, in his understanding, become when the veracity or reliability of underlings, his co-nationalists, is concerned ! We speak not only of official circles, where the code, though unwritten, is none the less distinctly understood ; the District Magistrate is lord paramount, while the District Superintendent of Police, even though he be his own brother, is a mere cipher ; all or anything done or ordered to be done by the latter can be set aside or countermanded by the former, and this actual, practical, subordination is naturally carried through all ranks and offices under the supposed control of each. Even the Naib Tehsildar, the recently promoted vernacular scribe, aided and supported, by the numerous members of an irresistible guild, wields powers and influence which enable him to ruin, nay, bring to incarceration, the oldest, most trusted and trustworthy ungazetted Police Officer. Should an individual of the uniformed body be so unfortunate as to have incurred the enmity of a Tehsildar, nay, even of one among the vast horde of peons or process-

servers who own his sway, it were better for that unlucky Policeman to cast aside all promotion or pension prospects, and betake himself to a far distant country, ere a trumped-up charge has riveted the manacles on his limbs.

But why should this condition of affairs be allowed to exist ? The Police Officer and his men are experts, devoting their life and energies to the prevention and detection of crime, while the Magistrate has no more concern in or connection with the matter than the mechanical recording of such evidence as the *Police*, having thoroughly sifted and tabulated it, lay before him, and either discharging the accused, or pronouncing such sentence as he finds himself empowered to inflict, after research into the pages of the Indian Penal Code. In whose hands lies the *real* dealing with crime ? We do not gainsay the fact that the experience of a District Magistrate may be of value in enabling him to counsel the District Superintendent in the process of enquiry into a case of unusual gravity or complication ; but, so would be that of any other individual of equal experience or capacity for logical deduction. Again, the person who is to *try* a charge should be the last to advise as to its pressure ; does he not, by so doing, pre-determine the issue ? So far, then, as the relations between the Police and the Magistracy are concerned, the utmost cordiality should be absolutely insisted upon ; but, interference by one with the other should be sternly repressed and legally rendered impossible. By this means only can the imperatively necessary independence of action be secured, and without such independence, crime will continue to prosper.

But this belittling—we may style it degradation—of the Police, by no means sums up the total harm done to the community at large. In order that the force may have even a reasonable chance of success, the first and most absolutely essential condition is that it should possess the good-will and hearty co-operation of the law-abiding inhabitants of the country-side, and these aids are not to be gained by personal popularity, but wholly and solely by his strength and power for good or ill. No race on earth possesses a more perfect knowledge of the advantages accruing from a given line of action than does the oriental ; a man, the head of his village world, may himself be thoroughly honest, but when financial considerations intervene, he cannot be answerable for or control his surroundings. We

have no hesitation in affirming that were a Tehsildar deputed to investigate a crime of unusual magnitude, committed within his jurisdiction, he would be easily able to bring the offenders to justice ; whereas the Police Officer under the same circumstances would be unaided, if not impeded, in his researches ; he is known to be a man of no account, whereas the other is credited with possession of powers for harm, to the rustic mind, well-nigh illimitable. We might almost conceive the Police Officer to possess the aforesaid "good-will" of the populace, but it would be merely when he was a harmless personage who, perforce, let things run easily during his tenure of office, unless, indeed, some peculiarly objectionable or hopelessly impecunious individual were made over to him as a propitiatory sacrifice to the demands of the ruling authorities.

And how is such good-will as is of value, and without which the best policeman in the world is powerless, to be obtained ? By raising the social, and of more importance still, his official status to at least as high a rank as that of the underlings who collect the revenues of the State ; by showing unmistakably that a policeman's word is regarded as equally deserving of credence with that of his fellow-man ; by absolutely safe-guarding the police, except in matters actually before a Court of Justice, from all Magisterial control, interference or domination.

F. GRAHAM HATCHELL.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

**The Lords and
Our Fiscal Policy.**

One result of appointing British noblemen to the Viceroyalty and the Governorships of India is to give the Upper House an advantage over the House of Commons in dealing with Indian questions. Though Mr. Chamberlain has been vigorously handled in the House in which he has the honour to sit, the discussion led by Lord Northbrook elicited more weighty pronouncements and disclosed a greater variety of the considerations affecting India in the solution of the questions raised by the Colonial Secretary than have fallen as yet from the honourable members of the Lower House. All our former rulers who took part in the discussion were of opinion that the present fiscal arrangements had worked exceedingly well, and they seriously doubted if India would derive any benefit from the proposed departure. When Lord Lansdowne freely admitted that India is neither in a good position to give preference to her friends, nor to retaliate on those who treat her in an unfriendly manner, and when he said that it is essential to India that her export trade should be accorded the most favourable and the most unrestricted outlets possible, he took the view which the conduct of Germany so readily suggests and which was expressed in our Note last month. It is held by some that few countries would be so foolish as to refuse to take our exports, as these consist mostly of food-stuffs and raw material for manufactures. But when it is remembered that protectionist countries already tax the import of food-grains and thereby willingly raise the price of food, we must be prepared to believe that what appears to be folly to some may seem wisdom in the eye of others. The case with raw materials may be somewhat different; Mr. Chamberlain, for example, who would not shrink from taxing

food, is nervous about taxing cotton. But if a country is resolved upon shutting out our exports, it may indemnify itself against the evil consequences of such a policy by lowering the tariff in favour of some other country which supplies the same material. It is only where we have no competitors from whom it is possible to secure such terms that we may laugh at the threat of unfriendly treatment. Fiscal retaliation, moreover, is not a kind of wild justice: its object is to secure favours which might otherwise be denied. Sir Edward Law expects that if Russia is threatened with a duty on her petroleum, she may lower the tariff on British manufactures. The success of this strategy will perhaps depend upon the number of similar threats held out by other countries, the harm they inflict, and the balance of advantage on the side of respecting them. But our Finance Member's desire to have a weapon to fight with—Sir Edward's loaded revolver—illustrates the motive of what is described as retaliation. In some cases the threat may be so ridiculous that we may safely disregard it. We have to consider the consequences, not of protection, but of preference. One protectionist country may not resent a similar policy on the part of another, but it may resent preference: at any rate Germany resented it, and put on 11 per cent. duty on Canadian goods as against 8 per cent. on other goods, not because Canada was a protectionist country, but because she treated the United Kingdom on specially favourable terms. Whether India will be affected by retaliation is another question. It has been maintained that Canada has not suffered by Germany's treatment of her and that Canadian exports to Germany have trebled since 1895. But Lord Lansdowne thought that our export trade would be injured, and few can assert that there can be no such risk.

It is assumed in this line of argument that the export trade of India ought to increase. But there are Indian economists who would only be too glad if the export of food-grains were restricted. "The grain exports of India," wrote Sir W. W. Hunter some years ago, "represent many hungry stomachs in India. If all the poorer classes in India ate two full meals every day, the surplus for export would be much less than at present." But why do they not eat two full meals? Many of them cannot afford to buy the food, and one reason why the prices of food-grains have been rising is their unrestricted export, and the prices which they command in other

parts of the world to which they are exported. Other causes, too, have been at work to bring about the same result, such as the increase of population, the imports of cheap silver, and perhaps railways. Wages have not remained stationary. Lord Lytton's Government, in reviewing the Famine Commission's Report in 1880, observed: "The increased demand for rice, wheat and seeds for export to Europe and the extension of new staples, such as jute, have materially affected the range of wages." But the wages have not risen proportionately to the rise in prices, as may be seen from the following figures:—

The first three columns in the following table give the average price of rice, wheat and jowar respectively in the years 1891-5, the average for 1871-5 being taken as 100; the fourth column gives the average minimum wage of an able-bodied agricultural labourer, and the fifth that of a common mason, carpenter or blacksmith, in 1901, the wages for 1873 being taken as 100:—

Lower Burma	...	151	111	...	101'1	104'9
Assam ...	..	154	133	...	128	112'5
Bengal	...	146	125	117	114'8	142'7
N.-W. Provinces	...	125	127	115	101'8	92'2
Oudh ...	...	125	137	129	82	92'2
Punjab	...	110	128	122	154'6	148
Sind ...	...	146	118	122	90	68'8
Bombay	...	110	107	117	95'3	98'6
Central Provinces	...	152	163	145	104'2	92'9
Berar ...	..	124	126	169	150	115'3
Madras	...	140	...	136	109'7	106'9

If we had the quinquennial average of wages for 1871-5 as the basis of comparison, we might have obtained slightly different figures; but the comparison between 1873 and 1901 cannot yield a widely divergent result. In some places the wages have fallen since 1873. Assuming that in such cases the seventies were exceptionally good years for wage-earners in consequence of some evanescent phase of economic prosperity, and confining our attention only to those provinces where the wages have risen, we may notice that except in the Punjab, where the wages have outstripped the prices of food-grains, in Bengal, where the skilled labourer has very nearly kept pace with rice, and in Berar, where somehow the agricultural labourer appears

to have been marching with the prices, the wages have generally lagged behind. This disparity may not have affected the majority of the Indian population, which is agricultural, but it must be entailing hardship on a large number of poor people. In the towns the wages have risen higher than the average rates indicated in the above table: taking the wages for 1873 as 100, a common mason, carpenter or blacksmith received, on an average, in the years 1896-1900, in Calcutta, 209; in Rangpur, 194; Rawalpindi, 189; Karachi, 153—which stands in remarkable contrast to the fall indicated in the above table for Sind. There are towns which record a fall too, such as Fyzabad with 84; Belgaum, 68; Jubbulpore, 73. We may also remember that averages do not correspond to actualities, but only indicate the general trend of the movements. Making allowance for all these considerations, we cannot still ignore that the rise in the prices presses heavily on a considerable portion of the population, though to another section—and a very large section too, ranging between 42 and 50 per cent. of the population in the various provinces—it has brought its own advantages. In the interests of the former class it has often been wished that we could so far embrace the protectionist heresy as to discourage the export of food-grains. This wish is strongly expressed during a famine. Up till 1822 the Government, accepting the current notions of the time, acted on the belief that the proper remedies for famine were to be found in the prohibition of the export of grain, penalties on merchants who hoarded it or enhanced its price, and other interferences with the course of trade. As late as 1874, Sir George Campbell recommended the prohibition of export of grain, when there was a famine in Bengal, but Lord Northbrook would not listen to it. "Bred in the strictest sect of English free-traders," says Sir George, "he looked on my proposal as a sort of abominable heresy—was as much shocked as a bishop might be with a clergyman who denied all the 39 Articles." After the pronouncement of the Famine Commission against interference with trade, save in exceptional circumstances, its adoption as a remedy against famine is not considered as falling within practical politics. It is still more discredited as a normal feature of our fiscal policy. But if by the operation of any causes, the drainage of food-grains is restricted, there are many in India who would regard such a result with complacency. Lord Reay referred

to this aspect of the policy of England giving us preference with respect to our wheat and rice when he said: "One question is the effect of a bounty upon wheat and rice on the storage of those grains as against recurring famines. Further, what compensation will be given to the people of India, whose main food is rice, and what expectation has the Government that in the congested state of the labour market there will be a rise of wages?" Lord Lansdowne thought that if the harvest of other food-grains was abundant, a large quantity of wheat would be available for export, otherwise not; therefore "no duty of the kind we are considering in these discussions would probably have very much effect one way or the other upon the volume exported." Obviously, however, there is another factor to be considered—the margin between prices in India and Europe: owing to the variable nature of this margin, as the Officiating Director-General of Statistics remarks in his *Review* of the trade of India last year, the export of wheat "is subject to greater fluctuations than the trade in any other principal staple." Even on the supposition that the development of the wheat trade will not prove an evil to any class but an advantage to the producer, the extent of that development must necessarily depend upon the measure of differential treatment that England will be prepared to give to India. Lord Northbrook also referred to tea, sugar and tobacco, and was of opinion that a preferential treatment with regard to these by England was either unnecessary or impracticable.

So far with regard to India. Reversing the point of view, how would England be affected if India were allowed to depart from her present policy? Free trade has been prescribed for us as the orthodox creed because it is an article of England's creed. But if England unlearned the old lessons taught to her by an earlier generation of her own economists, could India be asked to swear by the old formulas, to the evolution of which she has never been a party? Speaker after speaker protested that that would be unjust and highly inexpedient. If instead of freedom of trade we were given the freedom to tax, what answer was to be given to us if we proposed to tax imports from England? We may give her preference as against foreign countries, but what if we gave ourselves preference first? This argument must go home to every preferential trader. The only way in which England can get over the difficulty is to

profess her own belief in free trade within the Empire, to confess her inability to convert the self-governing Colonies, and to limit her own new policy and ours to the taxing of foreign imports. Lord Lansdowne said that the Government of India would be fully consulted. If Sir Edward Law's letters in the *London Times* be taken to represent the views of the Government, we may suppose that the Government hopes, by arming itself with the liberty of taxing foreign imports, to extort commercial advantages from foreign countries in respect of our exports. It is admitted that empty threats will not avail, and the Government of India is not likely to imitate King Theebaw's generals who placed huge guns of wood on hill-tops overlooking the Irrawaddy to frighten the British soldiers sailing up the river ! Sir Edward advises England to impose a duty on Russian petroleum and to take an equivalent amount off tea. If Russian petroleum is taxed in India too, with a view to advance the prospects of tea, on whom will the tax fall until Russia is compelled to relent ? The Finance Minister in his last Budget speech mentioned petroleum as one of the cheap foreign articles used by the poorer classes. Sir Edward's proposal, if applied to India, would involve the policy of robbing the poor of cheap oil to help the tea industry. If you protect one class, you injure another. M. de Witte once said: "The Protective system has value only as a school for our young industries. The Russian pays dearer for everything that is protected by a customs duty. This is the chief reproach against Protectionism, and a reproach entirely just. It is for that very reason that it is necessary to attempt as rapidly as possible to pass through this period of a scholastic study, and as rapidly as possible to approach the end." The tea industry in India has thriven in its day, and, we hope, will thrive more and more by the adoption of all legitimate methods. What other young industries is the Government going to protect by adopting free trade within the Empire, or will the new policy be confined to protecting old industries at the expense of the consumer of foreign imports, and perhaps at the risk of endangering some of our own exports ?

CURRENT EVENTS.

The expectation cherished during the last several months that Lord Curzon's term of Viceroyalty would be extended is now confirmed by His Excellency's announcement in the Legislative Council and Lord George Hamilton's announcement in Parliament. His Excellency expressed a fear in March last that he had probably bitten off more than he could chew. It is unnecessary to speculate whether he would have committed that piece of imprudence if he had not been oversanguine as to his own maxillary prowess, and if he had foreseen the resistance that would be offered by the hard problems that he had the temerity to tackle. But Viceroys are made for India, and not India for Viceroys, and therefore if any Viceroy elects to launch upon a series of inquests with a view to reform the administration, he must remain at his post until he sees the preliminary operations through and the new order of things is fairly set in motion. His Excellency explained that this was the ground on which he had accepted the extension, and it is to be hoped that the two years which he has undertaken to spend in India, after recruiting his health next year, will be devoted to the prosecution of internal and inexpensive reforms, and his attention will not be distracted by troubles and ambitions beyond the frontiers.



Lord Northcote has elected a different course and bids us farewell before the expiry of his ordinary term of office for happier woods and more congenial pastures, leaving behind him a genuine appreciation of the good intentions and kindly disposition which have throughout distinguished his career in Bombay. The pleasure of knowing the details of the reforms in the collection of land revenue recommended by him is denied to us for the present, as the Government of India has not yet sanctioned them, but his name

will be remembered none the less on that account when the scheme is put in operation. Lady Northcote leaves a sphere of activity where she took the kindest interest in the welfare of her sex.



Our earnest hope that the Lord Chief Justice of England, when making a pronouncement on so important a dispute as that between the India Office and the War Office, would necessarily lay down principles for future guidance, has been disappointed. The Award may be just in its conclusion, but not fair in its brevity. Sir Charles Dilke expressed the opinion at the Caxton Hall meeting that another charge—the sum of £ 7. 10s. paid by India in respect of the training of the recruit—would, when the matter is brought up again, be reduced. As this is said to amount to half a million annually, it would nearly compensate India for the additional charge payable under Lord Alverstone's Award. The meeting at Caxton Hall to protest against the South African charges has had its effect. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is not likely to have awakened the "British conscience" to a sense of the moral depravity of our rulers, who seem to borrow their conscience from somewhere else—the exact spot is not yet localised. But the opinions of the distinguished President of the meeting, of Lord Welby, who has spent 40 years of his life in the Treasury and is an impartial witness, and of Mr. Buchanan, who was a member of the Welby Commission and who made a most solid and telling speech, must certainly have awakened Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodrick to a sense of the injustice they had resolved upon perpetrating, without in the first instance consulting the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief of India. It is now explained that the object of the whole plot was just the contrary of appearances, and instead of the War Office seeking to throw an unnecessary burden on India, it was the Indian Secretary that had artfully contrived to shove upon the War Office the major portion of a burden which would otherwise have threatened to crush the finances of India. Lord Curzon has already declared himself against the proposal. If Lord Kitchener also conspires with him, it is said that the Indian Secretary will spare the British Exchequer the sacrifice of a million pounds a year. It was Lord George Hamilton, we believe, who recommended our Commander-in-Chief specially for his economy: he will not betray the confidence reposed in him.

In the late Lord Salisbury the statesman so completely overshadowed the man that his physical demise does not appear to have impressed the world as deeply as his exit from the political stage last year, after a long and glorious career as one of the ablest and the most respected Prime Ministers of the Victorian era. Though he did not win his laurels at the India Office, where he ruled twice during his political career, he has not omitted to give India reasons to remember his connection with this country. The Native dynasty of Mysore will ever be thankful to him for having secured for it the restoration of its ancient heritage, though the Nizam may be inclined to feel differently about his decision that the Berars could not be restored to him. His Minutes on Indian Affairs were masterly documents, and though they betrayed too much caution against committing Government to any line of policy which might prove pecuniarily inconvenient, he took a sympathetic view of the position of the Indian cultivator.



The Report of the Indian Irrigation Commission is published, and we are now in a position to judge, in the light of expert opinion, to what extent the development of irrigation may be relied on as a protective measure against famine, and as a means of increasing the food-supply of the people generally. The inquiry which Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff and his colleagues had to conduct was a difficult one, involving, as it did, a study of the meteorology and the geology of the various parts of India, the engineering difficulties and the financial prospects of the irrigation schemes placed before the Commission, and the various means whereby the State could achieve its object and private enterprise encouraged. The Government and the people have every reason to be thankful for the ability with which the materials have been handled and the lucidity and the judicious tone of the whole Report. The average depth of the rainfall in India is $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 59 per cent. of the total rainfall is absorbed in sustaining plant life, in maintaining moisture in the soil, and in replenishing the subsoil water-supply, or is lost by evaporation; 6 per cent. or $6\frac{1}{2}$ billion cubic feet is utilised in artificial irrigation of all kinds; while the remaining 36 per cent. or $44\frac{1}{2}$ billion cubic feet is carried away by the rivers. Only a fraction of this surplus flow can be utilised for irrigation. The Commission recommends a programme of new irriga-

tion works which, when completed, will subtract one billion cubic feet from the wastage, bringing under irrigation $6\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. The subsoil water-supply at present extracted through wells is estimated at about a billion cubic feet, and the Commission hopes that the area under well-irrigation may at some future time be doubled. This may add about 13 million acres to the irrigated area. Sir William Hunter has calculated that an acre of food crops produces, under ordinary circumstances, from 600 to 900 lbs. or much more than is required to feed a man for a year. Therefore, dealing with the figures in a large way, and setting aside considerations like the kind of crops that may be raised in the irrigated area and the number of crops that may be grown in a year, we may flatter ourselves that when the expectations of the Commission are realised, we may increase our food-supply for at least 20 millions more. As for the cost of the new works, the Commission estimates it at 44 crores; a part of the outlay will be productive, and a part of the interest on the unproductive capital may be set off against the famine expenditure from which the Government will be relieved; and thus the net charge on the revenues is expected to amount to 43 lakhs a year. But even more important than State works are private works. Out of the total 44 millions of acres under irrigation of all kinds, 26 millions are irrigated by private works— $1\frac{1}{4}$ from canals, $5\frac{1}{4}$ from tanks, 13 from wells, and the rest from unclassified sources. For assisting and stimulating the development of private works, various measures have been recommended, such as: (1) a development of the system of *takavi* advances, by lengthening the time for repayment, and reducing the rate of interest; (2) grants-in-aid to people impoverished by famine to undertake works of improvement; (3) more definite assurances of permanent or long-term exemption from enhancement of assessment on account of agricultural improvements; and (4) the more extensive employment of relief labour on agricultural works. For grants-in-aid an annual provision of 17 lakhs has been suggested.



In a country where the output of literature in book form is so scanty that we have no occasion to speak of the books of the week, or of the season, or even of the year, the publication of a work like Mr. B. G. Tilak's "Arctic Home in the Vedas" is an event worth

recording. The theory that the Aryans must originally have lived in the circumpolar region is not altogether a new one. An examination of the legendary lore of the western nations led Professor Rhys to the conclusion that the original home of the Aryans must have been a spot within the Arctic Circle, somewhere in the north of Finland and the neighbourhood of the White Sea. An examination of Vedic literature has led Mr. Tilak to a similar conclusion. A fuller notice of his researches must be reserved for a future occasion, but among his arguments we may mention the following: According to tradition, a day and a night of the gods consist each of six months; from Vedic hymns it would appear that a period of several days elapsed between the first appearance of light on the horizon and the rising of the sun; the dawn is described as moving round like a wheel; passages in the Vedas and in the old ritualistic literature contemplate a year of ten or nine months, a long night equal to 100 days of ours. Then there are several Vedic legends which can best be explained on the Arctic hypothesis. The patience with which the various passages have been hunted up and the ingenuity and scholarship displayed in the interpretation of obscure texts and unintelligible myths are worthy of admiration, and the conclusion is not quite so startling as one might at first imagine. Many of our present notions due to Western scholars regarding the meaning of the Vedic myths will have to be modified when Mr. Tilak's theory is accepted. As an example of the boldness and skill with which the learned author has pursued his speculations, we may state how he has arrived at the date when Indra's fight with Shambara began. It is said to have begun *Chatvârimshyâm sharadi*, literally, "on the fortieth, in autumn." Believing that the Vedic poets must have lived in the temperate and the tropical zone, and that the conflict between Indra and Vritra must be a daily phenomenon, scholars have hitherto been puzzled by this expression, and all sorts of guesses have been made as to its meaning. But on the theory that the myth originated in a place where the sun was visible above the horizon for seven months, and that on the tenth day of the eighth month, or the fortieth day of autumn, he went below the horizon, the passage offers no difficulty. The Avestic literature has also been examined and made to yield the same conclusion. To quote one example, the Vendidad says that when Ahura Mazda created the Airyana Vaejo, a perfect

country, Angra Mainyu reversed the conditions in it and created a winter of ten months and a summer of two months. Mr. Tilak argues that in the perfect land, the summer must have lasted for ten, and the winter for two months. And according to tradition it was this land that was abandoned in consequence of glaciation. If the Aryans lived near the north pole, they must have done so in the inter-glacial epoch. Altogether the book is a remarkable contribution to the search after the original home of the Aryans, and the unflinching originality of speculation, the acuteness of reasoning and the exuberance of scholarship displayed in the work cannot but strengthen the conviction that the best interpreters of the East must be Eastern scholars.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BY WHOM AND HOW IS INDIA GOVERNED?

To meet the drain on the finances, due to these indulgences, taxation is consistently increasing when voted by the many and paid by the few.

DEAR SIR,—That paper in the June Number of *East & West*, signed "Rusticus," is of peculiar value, looking as it does with the calm eye of reason "before and after." The title "A Peasantry of Paupers," though suitable enough, does not indicate the views of true political science that crop up here and there in the essay. It is to one of these outcrops that I wish to refer with direct practical intent, as an instance of over-sight in the writer as bearing on current affairs affecting that same "Peasantry"—though, poor creatures, they know not whence or how the burden falls on them.

This oversight appears on p. 659. It occurs as a mistaken sequence after the acute and thoughtful paragraph in which the writer seems to demonstrate that—nothing is so dear [*i.e.*, expensive] as "self-government," and that, due to its "indulgences, taxation is constantly increasing"—especially when voted by the many and paid by the few. (Here in passing, it must be noted the fiscal position of India is exactly the reverse of that.) Then comes the passage on which it is my chief object to comment:—

"All this extravagance [*i.e.*, indulgences] is impossible in a country governed as is British India. All aspirations are kept in check by the fear of deficit. The Government would fain spend money on public works, would perhaps make war upon some troublesome neighbours, but for the fear of the drain upon resources which no one can see how to recruit."

Now it may be due to the enforced seclusion of "Rusticus," in the lone melancholy mofussil, that he should be so far outside the stream of political facts as this passage shows him to have been at the time of writing. So that he may be surprised to learn that nearly every line of this concise summary is erroneous, for most, if not "all this extravagance" is not only possible, but has been continuously indulged in during the

modern period of British India regime, notably since 1876—with the saving exception of the Ripon-Baring administration in the first half of the eighties. This is especially so in respect of the two “aspirations” mentioned in his third sentence. Take the latter—“would perhaps make war upon some troublesome neighbours.” There is no “perhaps” here. The “Government”—the only responsible and effective centre of which is seated in the palace overlooking St. James’ Park—has not only indulged in “wars on some troublesome neighbours,” but also on others only made troublesome by those very wars *outside* of India. This is the one great fact which, though worse than *un-productive* expenditure, by millions on millions, has dominated India’s finance, and demoralized its financiers during the last thirty years. Here to divert a moment to the (European) political science as set out by “Rusticus,” this, speaking broadly, is because taxation [as resulting from this hideous waste] has been “voted (ordered) by the FEW and paid by the MANY.” This has not been because those few spokesmen who—thanks to British education and example—can speak for the dumb peasantry have been inert and silent. Ever since 1876 when the destructive policy was forced on India from the secret-working centre aforesaid, those Indian spokesmen have remonstrated and protested as well as their limited political powers availed. Possibly as this continuous movement was necessarily most obvious in urban centres, this may partly account for its being overlooked by “Rusticus.” But just to cite one example, there was the notable public meeting in Bombay some years ago (presided over by Sir Bhalchandra Krishna) when the whole of that fatal policy was thoroughly exposed and denounced on behalf of the many. But as the “few” have command of the funds paid by the “many,” and, in this respect, are not checked by “the fear of deficit,” those protests have gone all but in vain. The waste of India’s resources beyond her borders, was, some two years ago, established as a permanent system by the formation of the so-called New Province amongst the Pathan tribes in the Afghan mountains and ravines, and at this very time, similar waste of the funds “paid by the many”—either in cash or debt—is being contrived in the north in the scheme for an invasion of Tibet and High Asia.

As to the other “aspiration” which “Rusticus” considers is kept “in check by the fear of deficit,” that comes within smaller compass, namely, “Government would fain spend money on public works.” Here the test is, what sort of public works? Whereas some 180 crores have been expended on railways, only about 35 have been

invested (and over a longer period) on water storage, irrigation, and inland navigation. What comparison can there be as regards the intrinsic, internal value to the Indian people of these two chief classes of public works? And that capital cost of your railway system is not all. The sacrifice in the loss in working these barren iron-ways has amounted to some fifty crores more. This "extravagance" has been possible in a country governed as is British India—"voted by the few and paid by the many," because this "aspiration" of the few ran in a very different direction from that of the many. That "aspiration" has *not* been "kept in check by the fear of deficit," nor by any "fear of the drain upon resources." For that latter sum has contributed to many deficits, has swollen the Home Charges, and though of late years, partly provided from the "Famine Insurance Fund," has gone under the surface of the accounts; but it remains as a dead weight on the financial resources of India. Besides, the economic incidence of public works is one of sharp contrast. Whereas the larger portion in cost of construction and working of railways has been, and is disbursed in the United Kingdom, nearly the whole of that on water-storage and irrigation has been and is expended in your country itself and amongst its people. Then, since drought with its sequent famine has become one of the dominating factors in current Indian finance, consider again the enormous contrast as regards "drain upon resources" between those two classes of public works—one directly productive, nourishing and permanently fruitful; the other only indirectly productive at best. So much for the subject matter of the unlucky illustration used by "Rusticus" in support of his political science based on modern European conditions. Those who would apply true politico-economic science to Indian conditions must dig much deeper than he has yet done.

Yours faithfully,

AN ANGLO-INDIAN.

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DUMPING : FACTS AND THEORIES.

I.

"WE are on the eve of a great *economic* fight," said Mr. Chamberlain in his speech in Parliament on the second reading of the Sugar Convention Bill. This exclamation must have been a slip on the part of the Minister ; economic considerations are the very last by which he is guided ; indeed, in the very same speech he exhorted the House of Commons to remember that Free Trade is only a policy, and in no sense is it a principle as Justice is a principle. It is characteristic of Mr. Chamberlain's intellectual temper that he is in no wise disconcerted by the difficulties of applying ethical postulates to economic problems. The "Justice" he proclaims is the primitive *Lex Talionis*, the return of an injury for an injury, and has no affinity with the passion of the Sermon on the Mount, to do unto others as you would that those others would do to you—to give benefits in the faith that they *must* draw out their like ultimately from others. Therefore, in the political vocabulary of Mr. Chamberlain's supporters, phrases such as "retaliations," "we will not take things lying down," "foreign invasion," "Pro-Germans," "dumping," "pistol," "big revolver," and the like, loom very large. It is perfectly true that since love and hate are both elements of human nature, statesmen who pretend to deal with realities must take both factors into account, and indeed *turn* both to account, using them impartially for the common weal. But statesmen do not turn aside from realities if they remember that love and hate, though principles equally present, have their faces turned in different directions ; that a slight variation in the direction of love is laid hold of by natural selection for progress, and that a development of the other principle is atavistic.

The leading injury which Mr. Chamberlain is to punish is "dumping." He is not afraid of legitimate foreign competition, but he is prepared to put a tax even on German machinery if sold in England below cost. Mr. Chamberlain's supporters in the press cry out aloud against "dumping," and denounce the Free Traders as Pro-Germans. It is apparently an injustice to a man to expect him to buy a thing for less than what it would cost himself to produce it, or what it has cost the seller. Or is it an injustice to other producers? Let us hope that when Mr. Chamberlain was directing the screw-making firm of Messrs. Nettlefold and Chamberlain, care was taken that no screw went out below cost. In fairness to Mr. Chamberlain himself, it must be admitted that he gave in his adhesion to the cry against dumping years ago when he protested against the import of goods made by cheap convict labour in Belgium.

The issue of that controversy about prison-made goods is a warning that a great deal of temper and energy might be wasted on an injury which is more apparent than real. It will be remembered that in the debate on a Bill to prevent the import of prison-made articles, Mr. Bryce curtly informed Sir Howard Vincent that the Board of Trade inquiry into prison-made articles showed that the sample submitted by Sir Howard was not prison-made at all. We may hope that before rousing the antipathy of a jealous and combative people against Germany, care has been taken to make sure that goods of foreign origin are dumped on England in quantities sufficient to hurt English industry appreciably. If this has not been done, we shall be confronted once again with the spectacle of ministers and people howling against an imaginary wrong. A public that was duped by the Fable of Jenkin's Ears, and the legend of South African Helots, cannot be trusted to examine facts for itself. That a great many statements (about which the writers are themselves not sure) will be palmed off as facts, may be suspected from the two letters of Sir T. Wrightson*, to which Mr. Robson has called the attention of the public.

I confess to an absolute doubt that there is much evidence for the magnitude of illegitimate dumping, and of the resultant ruin of British industry. Lord Welby has testified that he recollects no

* "On June 12, Sir Thomas wrote a sad letter about 'dumping,' and the way in which it destroyed the profits of his companies, to the *Times*, and a few days later he issued a cheerful prospectus about this same company."—*Speaker*, July 18th, 1903.

period when the revenue of the United Kingdom was more buoyant. Sir Robert Giffen has shown that the great cost of the South African War has had no sensible effect on English industry and wealth ; Lord Goschen has demonstrated the increasing prosperity of all ranks in the United Kingdom by an analysis of the yield per penny of the income-tax, and of the deposits in the Savings Bank ; the figures of the Income Tax Commissioners quoted below* show that the taxable income of iron works is increasing remarkably, and the market quotations of the shares of some iron companies show the confidence of the public in the continued prosperity of those concerns. Mr. Arthur Chamberlain repudiates the

* Under the heading, "Assessments of Profits of Iron Works in the United Kingdom," the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue make the following statement :—

"The gross income assessed under this head in 1891-92 amounted to £2,979,442. From 1892-93 to 1897-98 there was a considerable falling off, but in 1898-99 there was an improvement, the figure being £3,007,591. In 1899-1900 the profits showed a further rise to £3,211,984, and finally in 1900-1901 they increased by £2,400,976 over 1891-92, or 80·5 per cent. The assessments on iron works are made on the basis of the profits of the preceding year."

The figures for the ten years were :—

Years.	Amount.
	£
1891-92	2,979,442
1892-93	2,089,227
1893-94	1,832,308
1894-95	1,834,127
1895-96	1,934,126
1896-97	1,840,350
1897-98	2,556,392
1898-99	3,007,591
1899-00	3,211,984
1900-01	5,380,418

Further light upon the majestic ruins of the British iron trade is afforded by a glance at the list of iron and steel quoted securities ; here are a few examples :—

* Consett Iron Co.	£ 7 10	paid shares	price £34 10s.
Cammels	" 5 0	" "	" " 13 5s.
Vickers	" 1 0	" "	" " 1 10s.
John Brown & Co.	" 0 15	" "	" " 1 9s.

—*The Free Trader*, August 1st 1903.

suggestion that the Kinochs need any protection against the foreigner; and if Sir T. Wrightson sang to the *Times* in dolorous strains about the straits to which his concern was reduced by foreign dumping, he has himself supplied the corrective in the letter to investors asking for more capital.

Facts like these indicate, *firstly*, that if there has been "dumping," its ruinous consequences to the nation are not easily detected*; *secondly*, that those who tell tales about the disasters in store for the nation are not always disinterested or accurate; and *lastly*, that even in iron and steel works which are said to be the greatest victims of the foreigner's wiles, dumping affects neither the aggregate profits nor the market value of shares. This is not to prove that there is no "dumping" at all; and, of course, wise men may detect portents in clouds no bigger than a man's hand; nevertheless, we must observe that only hysterical people will detect a portent in every passing cloud. The forces of economic inertia and economic freedom are so powerful that we need specific evidence in each separate case that the "dumping" process, like any other economic innovation, will be lasting† enough to disturb industry appreciably.

‡ The suggestion frequently made that England has been living on her capital and that this shows itself in a fictitious prosperity, is hardly sustained by known facts. The Duke of Devonshire has admitted that the excess of imports over exports is fully accounted for by British earnings in freights, commissions and remunerations for services. We in India alone contribute 20 millions sterling annually. As Prof. Marshal has shown, if in the Balance of Trade the Indian Civilians were put down as cattle for whose use an annual charge has to be paid, nobody would find any discrepancy. Mr. A. J. Wilson calls attention, in the *Investor's Review*, to the income tax returns which show that English revenue from investments abroad now amounts to at least 60 millions sterling per annum. Mr. Wilson himself suspects that the reality is far in excess of this sum; but such as it is, it is double that of 1882. But even if capital does return to England, as in many cases it must, and if it be not sent out again, the excess of imports might easily be capital returned and invested at home. As the Quarterly Reviewer has said, it is not easy to find signs of industrial slackening when every man or machine works to his or its fullest power.

† Sir T. Wrightson, in his two statements above referred to, bears eloquent (because unwilling and undesigned) testimony to the transient nature of the dumping phenomenon. He cites the North-Eastern Steel Company as "a concrete example of the way in which German and American tariffs are utilised to destroy our trade." He describes the large profits of this company for 17 years down to 1900, the drop of the profits in 1900, and the substantial loss in 1901. Incidentally it may be noticed that German dumping did the English producers, who use iron, the great service of diminishing the large profits of the Steel Companies—which are, of course, a tax on the iron-using industries. But let that pass. In a prospectus, the company explains the events of 1901 and 1902 as exceptional, and due as much to the "abnormal advances in wages and prices of materials, particularly fuel," as to German dumping. The prospectus then proceeds: "These unusual conditions in trade have passed away, and may not be experienced again for a considerable period of years." Again: "The works are well occupied with profitable contracts."

I submit that this proof has not been forthcoming ; and that advantage is being taken of the present nervous irritability of the English nation which induces an alternation of moods to kick and kiss—no matter whom. To-day, Germany is to be kicked and embraces are to be exchanged with the French. Not so very long ago it was all the other way. People in this temper do not wait for inflammatory speeches to be lashed into fury ; the neurosis makes them eminently susceptible to hypnotic suggestion. The orator says vaguely that Consul Oppenheimer has proved that a German syndicate has dumped goods in England for 72 marks, which could not be obtained for less than 95 marks in Germany ; the auditors are all the while thinking of the supposed wrongs on the part of Germany in Samoa, or in the matter of the South African War. We have recently read of a pamphlet from Birmingham reminding working men that the men who abolished the Protective Fiscal System—Peel and Cobden—were also the men who resisted the Factory Acts and the Trades Unions. It is exceedingly gratifying to be informed on such high authority that the political party associated with Mr. Chamberlain has a new-born tender regard for Trades Unions and Factory Acts ; and it is of course logically valid to presume that the men who were wrong on one set of issues were equally wrong on another. Still, in spite of this presumption it would be distinctly conducive to sound judgment by the electorate if definite facts were adduced instead of round-about presumptions. *

What facts justify these alarmist hysterics about the German and American invasion ? So far as I know, the whole evidence is comprised in the following propositions :—Individual concerns and, perhaps, industries find themselves hard hit, and they attribute their condition to this raid ; German and American exports have undoubtedly expanded vigorously during the last decade ; Consul Oppenheimer has testified to facts such as that iron bars were sold in Germany for home consumption for 95 marks which the foreigner could obtain for 80 marks or even 72 ; England took from Germany in the last half-year over four hundred thousand tons of all forms of

* * Since this article was put into type, I notice that the Birmingham Committee of Mr. Chamberlain is issuing illustrations of actual dumping—*e.g.*, in the glass industry. As attempt is made to show from hypothetical figures that it *pays* the foreigner, the illustrations must be taken to be cases, not of dumping, but *quasi-dumping*.

iron, and this quantity is three times as great as that of the first six months of 1901; dumping is supposed to have been proved to the hilt in the case of sugar; English exports are not expanding with any degree of elasticity. Now, it is perfectly true that if German ironmasters should sell their goods abroad at less than cost price, and yet not be losers on the whole, there would be shown a margin between their home and foreign quotations; but the converse of this proposition is hardly true. If the home quotation give more than the normal profit, or if increasing stocks be producible without a proportional increase in the fixed charges, the foreigner would still be getting his article without putting a burden on anybody; and if that be dumping, it is not of that illegitimate type with which Mr. Chamberlain could quarrel. The fact that English producers cannot compete at such prices is hardly relevant. If Chicago packers of pork show a total expenditure of 150 millions sterling annually, and receipts not exceeding 124 millions from the sale of pork,* their rivals, the small butchers, might probably cry out against this apparent iniquity, forgetting that in lard, oils, hides, fertilisers, wool, &c., 32 millions more are made, converting the deficit into a profit of 6 millions. The judgment of the home producer as to the cost of production to his foreign rival is not convincing evidence.

Moreover, the term "cost of production" is somewhat ambiguously used in this controversy, and it will conduce to clearness of thinking if the ambiguity be noticed. When, for example, the English manufacturer of iron speaks of the cost of production, he is thinking of what might be usefully called the "Mean Cost,"—the quotient $\left(\frac{C}{Q}\right)$ obtained by dividing the aggregate cost (C) by the whole quantity produced (Q). To the German exporter of iron to England, cost presents itself in a different way. He is thinking of the cost to him of the exported quantity only (ΔQ); and the cost works out to him as the quotient $\left(\frac{\Delta C}{\Delta Q}\right)$ obtained by dividing the extra aggregate cost for the exported quantity (ΔC) by the exported quantity only. This quotient may be conveniently called the "Differential Cost." Now, wherever heavy fixed charges weight the cost of production, the mean cost and the differential cost must

* Fraser, "America at Work."

continually diminish with increasing quantities produced ; but the differential cost will diminish more than the mean cost, and the difference between the two $\left(\frac{C}{Q} - \frac{\Delta C}{\Delta Q}\right)$ increases with increasing quantities put on the market. A price that is below the mean cost may yet be not lower than the differential cost ; and illegitimacy and iniquity become possible questions only when the quotation falls below the *differential cost*.

The legitimacy of two quotations for the same article even in the same market, and the legitimacy of the conception of differential cost cannot be disputed. The following admirable extract from one of Mr. Pigou's articles in the *Pilot* may serve as an illustration :—

Paradoxical as it may appear, foreigners can frequently afford to sell continuously in England "below cost price" in the ordinary acceptance of that term. When they do this, we are no longer confronted with an example of the exceptional case that is under discussion. The advantage which the foreign manufacturer then possesses over our own is precisely similar in kind to those which are afforded by low wages or lenient factory acts, and which we found in the previous article to afford no justification for protective legislation.

Let us try to resolve this paradox. When a railway company conveys freight between certain towns which are united only by its line, and also between certain others for whose custom it is in competition with a second company, the charges on the local non-competitive traffic will, if possible, be fixed at rates intended to cover not only the "prime cost" of the service rendered, but also the fixed charges for interest and so forth on the railway. The rates between competing points, on the other hand, will generally stand only slightly above the "prime cost" of the service rendered, and will contribute very little towards the permanent charges. It is worth the company's while to offer those rates, because otherwise its rival would oust it from the long distance traffic. Then it would get no contribution whatever towards upkeep, etc. ; now it, at all events, gets a little. And yet, in the usual sense of the word, these rates, which it is profitable to accept, are below (total) cost price.

Not only may there be a differentiation as between consumers in the home and foreign markets ; there may be a differentiation between consumers in the same market, so

long as a wall is set up between the two classes—fiscal, or by legal guarantees.

Nevertheless, it has to be conceded that the familiar expositions of the Free Trade policy do not adequately emphasize the awkwardness to the Free Trade country of this difference between mean and differential costs. Suppose that Free Trade England and Protectionist Germany are able to produce iron goods at the same cost for the same quantities. Suppose that Germany is protected enough to be able to exact from the home consumer the mean price $\left(\frac{C_I}{Q_I}\right)$ for the quantity sold in Germany; she is then able to put on the English and Indian markets any quantities of iron goods at rates not less than the differential cost $\left(\frac{\Delta C_I}{\Delta Q_I}\right)$. England is now in this dilemma. Her iron manufacturers, owing to Free Trade, are unable to sell their goods either in England or in India for more than the German foreign quotation $\left(\frac{\Delta C_I}{\Delta Q_I}\right)$ —the cost of transport being of course, neglected. If so, the whole receipts from English iron $\left([Q_I + \Delta Q_I] \left[\frac{\Delta C_I}{\Delta Q_I}\right]\right)$ will be less than the whole cost to the English manufacturer $[C_I + \Delta C_I]$. If England wishes to produce and sell the same quantity of iron as Germany, her loss can be shown to be equal to the product of the whole quantity sold for consumption in Germany, and the difference between the mean and differential costs in Germany. If the cost of production in the two countries were equal, if the quantity for home consumption in Germany were large, if there were no difficulty in drawing increasing supplies of raw material, and if all iron goods exported from Germany were finished goods only, this would present a troublesome problem for Free Trade.*

* The difficulties that suggest themselves at this stage, involving more or less theoretical considerations, are reserved for treatment in a separate article. There the reader will no doubt expect to find answers to questions such as these:—Can fixed charges make so much difference between mean and differential costs as is borne witness to by Consul Oppenheimer? Is there no limit to the law of increasing cheapness with increased scale of production? Would not increased cheapness be secured by the mere amalgamation of businesses? How is it possible with competing producers in the same industry to divide products for home and foreign consumption?

Happily, the costs of production do not appear to be equal. Though obsolete, the following table,* from an official French Report, may still be read with interest :—

The cost of producing a ton of iron or steel in 1883.

Countries.	Shillings per ton.		
	Pig.	Wrought Iron.	Steel.
England	50	122	160
France	73	182	224
Germany	59	144	192
Belgium	47	130	131

According to Mulhall, the official value per ton of manufactured iron and steel goods (not counting iron and steel bars) was in 1892 :—

£.				£.			
England	19	Austria	45	Holland	36	Italy	45
Sweden	45	Spain	57				

But, of course, it is not possible to draw much comfort from figures like these. The more important fact is that, according to Consul Oppenheimer,† while the German export of half-finished goods is rapidly driven up, the export of finished goods recedes, “a state of affairs altogether contrary to the best economic interests of the country, as it is most beneficial to the country at large that the exported goods should represent as much national labour as possible.” The result, as stated by Mr. Oppenheimer, is very instructive. Every stage of iron manufacture in Germany has its own syndicate; the greater the number of stages which the manufactured goods have to traverse, the more is the last manufacturer handicapped. He has to pay “for half-finished goods which constitute his raw material the prices fixed by the syndicates for the home market”; the customer abroad getting these same goods at lower prices, it is no wonder that “German manufacturers of finished goods had to decline orders which subsequently passed to Holland, Belgium or the United Kingdom.”

Let it be understood, then, that theoretically there is a distinction between mean and absolute costs, and that there is no

* Mulhall's “Statistical Dictionary.”

† *Economist*, Aug. 8, 1903.

illegitimacy or iniquity till the quotation to the foreigner fall below the differential cost ; that this difference is observable, under conditions, even within a home market ; that while, in the abstract, this difference operates oppressively on particular industries in Free Trade countries, practically the results have proved prejudicial to Germany alone, chiefly because of the division of production into various stages under separate syndicates enforcing a high selling price in the home market. The high income-tax returns of the iron industry of England and the long-continued depression in Germany are evidence, as far as they go, that the financial tactics of German syndicates have not hit England and have hurt the syndicates themselves. The exports of German iron to the United Kingdom are only a fraction of the annual iron production of the United Kingdom, and the iron exports alone of Great Britain are still several times larger than the German imports.* There is hardly any need, after this, to discuss the presumptions derived from the bounding German exports† and the stagnation of the English exports—except that there may be a theoretical interest in analysing exports in this connection. When every industry at home is employing its producing power to the fullest capacity, it is impossible for human nature to be seriously pessimistic about a foreign invasion. However, the question will be examined in another article.

I may now bring the first part of my argument to an end. Economic issues should be fought on the economic ground, but the appeal already addressed to the raging passion against Germany renders it needful to make sure of facts. The chief red-rag presented to John Bull will be German dumping. England is alleged not only to be the dumping ground of foreigners, but also of foreign goods—of which German iron is the chief sinner. The imports of German

* England exports 30 millions sterling of value of iron and steel in round figures, of which crude iron is about a fifth ; she imports 5 millions worth of iron ore and 2 of pig, bar, etc. ; she imports 6 millions worth of steel and manufactured iron. The total value of English imports of iron and steel from Germany was six hundred thousand pounds sterling in 1901. Let any reader look up the table of British imports and exports from, and to various countries and satisfy himself as to what a good customer Germany is for English goods. She buys more from England than she sells to her (if we exclude beet). So much for the German bogey.

† A return of the British Board of Trade shows that for the whole last quarter of the nineteenth century, exports per head of population from England, France, Germany, and the United States remained practically stationary ; that imports were equally stationary and that there was a practically stationary excess of imports over exports (per head) for all except the United States.

iron into England are certainly increasing ; there is a well-attested difference in the quotations on the German and the English markets of German iron ; and abstract theory indisputably confirms the common-sense apprehension that in the matter of such goods Protected countries may, under certain circumstances, put rival industries in Free Trade countries into difficulties ; a few English iron concerns appear to have been actually wound up. But if the proof of the pudding be in the eating, it is the German industry that has passed through a crisis, and English industry is buoyant. Orders have been refused, showing that there is no want of work. The wound-up concerns in England might not improbably have been, as the *Speaker* suggests, inadequately equipped at the start ; and in any case, English ironwrights have not yet been reduced to horse-sausages for subsistence. The very tactics of the Germans have been turned against themselves ; and there seems a probability that the elemental economic forces will once again vindicate themselves against attempted suppression. The shares of the leading iron concerns in England are quoted at a large premium ; the taxable income of the iron industry is rising rapidly. Remembering that each penny of the income-tax in England yields a larger return than ever, and bringing to mind the growth in the Savings Banks deposits, it is a wonder where signs of distress are to be found except in the submerged classes of whom few can speak with any knowledge or wisdom. The testimony of individuals to the existence of dumping is apt to be sometimes interested, and not unusually ignorant ; the attested sales of German goods to foreigners at reduced prices are capable of another account than sale at a loss ; and it may be concluded that there is no evidence that there exists any economic evil of such dimensions as to require an immediate remedy. Dumping is a pretext for the indulgence of anti-German antipathies, not their cause. The present day business on a large scale brings into existence phenomena which may, perhaps, be called "quasi-dumping," which look like dumping, but are not dumping. A complete theoretical account of these will be attempted in a separate article.

WOMEN AS EMPIRE-BUILDERS.

“Morality consists in the realisation of our relations to a community.”

—*Bishop Butler.*

FROM the days when the interests of England were amalgamated with those of Greater Britain, we have had many fine examples of Empire-builders, and especially in recent years this term has had for us a deeper significance.

In glancing back at the history of our nation, we find that as the evolution of man progressed, and his interests broadened, so also woman's mental horizon gradually widened, and she realised that besides the sacred duty she owed her husband and home, she owed an important duty to her State and country, and with each century we see woman taking a greater part in the shaping of the destinies of her Empire. The last century, more particularly, has heralded the awakening of woman to the full dignity of her womanhood. Unfortunately, we are still passing through an exaggerated phase of this movement, but this is destined to die; for in the evolution of religion and science, there also have been moments when the light of reason has been temporarily dimmed by over-enthusiasm, before that same light has shone forth in all its purity.

Tennyson has taught us that :—

“Woman is not undeveloped man, but diverse . . .

“Not like to like but like in difference

“Distinct in individualities.

He also shows us that when woman's intellect is rightly developed, she is able by her distinctly feminine attributes to complete the character—the very soul—of man, and that the intellect of neither can be fully developed in the truest sense of the word, until their lives—and their souls—have come into close contact with each other. Without this they are unable to fulfil the highest destiny of their creation, and be together set like

“perfect music unto noble words.”

We have learnt that the differences of sex were created in

order that each should be the complement of the other, but this can be accomplished only when the intellect and the souls of men and women are in harmony with each other. It is for want of this harmony that both sexes have exaggerated their distinctive characteristics and tendencies.

Now let us see what Englishwomen have done towards helping in the building of their Empire and in furthering its interests, and then let us see in what respect they have not as yet realised their duty towards their country and State.

According to the universal law of "give and take" as the white man's influence extended and his possessions increased, so his social and moral obligations became greater, and where he sojourned among foreign races as master, he had also to act as teacher and guide. The burden of the duty he bore to the people among whom he laboured had inevitably to be shared by the white woman. To the mothers of England was entrusted the early moulding of the character of their nation; it was they who first instilled into the minds of their sons the beauty of honour and truth. It was they who often sacrificed their all, in giving their first and last born, to the service of their country.

"And while the sons go trooping forth, to find, to take, to share

"The white man's burden that we know, have they no load to bear?

"Who choke their sobs, and say farewell, and bide at home and long?

"Who bore the sons of England, the mothers of the strong"?

(E. D.)

Some mothers have lived to see their sons decked with hard-won honours. To others their sons have returned, but with their minds and bodies broken on the sharp wheel of life, total wrecks of youth, health and intellect. Many a mother's heart has watched and longed for her son's return, but they have come back no more—for they have fallen while fighting their country's battle, fallen in all the vigour of their manhood, to be borne away silently on their shields.

"What of the mothers' burden, what of their sacrifice?

"Can ye buy their love for a bauble, can ye pay their tears with a price?

"For as much as the white man's burden is borne by the sons they bare,

"Unto them let it be counted, they carry their own full share."

(E. D.)

Again, many of England's daughters have been furthering their Empire's interests and influence by helping their husbands and

brothers to play England's game fairly and squarely, keeping before their eyes those standards of honour and truth, which they learnt to love in the mother-country. Often have we seen English-women, as daughters, sisters and wives, bravely sacrificing their health, while remaining at their posts, as faithfully as does a sentry in the time of war.

"They have given their youth to the grasping years, they have given the light of their eyes,

"And motherhood's joys are bitter, for parting means sacrifice."

(E. D.)

Again, we have examples of other women, who are in truth also Empire-builders, those who have espoused the cause of suffering humanity, who have left their homeland, to labour without gain, for works of love and philanthropy. Many poor sufferers have they helped in their hours of need, and to many ignorant, untutored souls have they brought the health-giving light of knowledge.

Thus, have not the women of England been helping to bear the burden that falls on the shoulders of all Empire-builders? As our colonies extended, our sons were forced to leave the home ties of the mother-country, in order to help in the service of their country abroad, and every new colony that England has acquired has been paid for with the life-blood of her sons, and with the tears and sacrifices of her daughters.

We have seen that the women of our nation have been keenly alive to the necessity of personal sacrifices, for the sake of philanthropy and for the furtherance of the interests of their country, but they have not sufficiently realised two important facts. Firstly, the immense influence our social lives can have on public matters, especially when we are representing our nation in a foreign country. Secondly, women have not sufficiently realised their relations and obligations to the community in which they live, and which, in a foreign country, includes the foreign race as well as the people of their own nationality.

Let us, in this instance, look at India, where we have subjugated an Eastern people, who have become, with us, fellow-subjects of one of the most glorious Empires the world has known. In India, the persistent glare of a powerful search-light is turned full on us. Our private lives and actions serve as types by which—rightly or wrongly—our nation is judged. The progress of an

Empire does not depend only upon the actions of its Government, but also on the individual lives and influence of its subjects ; and upon the attitude of the present generation, representing our Empire abroad to foreign subjects, will depend, to a large extent, the attitude of those subjects, in the rising and in future generations, to our Empire at large. The social and domestic life of our nation is more keenly watched than we are apt to believe. Our women serve as types of English womanhood, which is regarded as the flower of a higher evolution of civilisation—a civilisation that professes to have developed in woman a greater depth of soul and intellect. We wonder why Indian men do not realise more the necessity of female education and enfranchisement. The only way they can judge of the results of this woman movement is by what they see of the English "*memsaheb*" in India. They have seen many of the best types of our women awakened to the full dignity of their womanhood, their souls and intellects harmoniously developed ; but alas ! they have seen many which are just the reverse—women who allow society and the passing pleasure of the moment to engross their thoughts, spending their days in a whirl of aimless amusement—and by their influence retarding both the advancement of their sex and the interests of their Empire, and conveying a false idea of the effect and result of Western civilisation. Can we wonder that in consequence of these types of women, certain deep-rooted prejudices against Western domestic and social life exist in India ? It has been said that "women individually are often extremely unselfish in their home circle, but criminally selfish, as a body, towards the community at large." The domestic duties must ever receive the first place in the lives of all true women, but at the same time the woman whose soul and intellect have been fully developed, harmoniously to blend with each other, cannot but see that she also owes a very important duty to the community in which she lives. In the mother-country women are realising their duties in this respect more with each year, and we see them rendering faithful and valuable service to their country, helping to solve some of the many social problems which life continually presents to us. In India, however, excepting those women who devote their time to works of love or philanthropy, very few consider that they have any duties to the community in which

they live, or if they do, few include the natives of India in their "community."

Officially the lives of East and West run in the same channel, but socially their lives lie wide apart, for though there is official intercourse between the two nations daily, social intercourse is, practically unknown. Englishmen have made it their policy rigorously to exclude their wives and sisters from all social intercourse with the men of India. Nor is this policy unreasonable, for the laws which still govern Indian domestic and social life make free social intercourse between English and Indian people an impossibility. Thus though these two races both belong to the same Empire, and are both fighting shoulder by shoulder in the same battles, with the sword and the pen; in commerce and in agriculture, yet a barrier of caste and custom separates them, and except officially, they know very little of each other.

Missions and education have done much to bring these two races into closer touch with each other; but missionaries and educationalists are distinctly in the minority, and their endeavours must naturally be hampered, unless it is more generally realised that all English people in India are there as representatives of their Empire, to play England's game fairly and squarely—realising that they owe certain moral and social obligations to the people of that country—obligations which they cannot ignore without ignoring the interests of their Empire.

The women of the East and of the West, with the exceptions referred to, know even less of each other's lives and sympathies than do the men of these two nations. English and Indian women live side by side, united to each other by the same bonds of womanhood and the same joy and pain of motherhood, belonging to the same Empire, training their sons to take their places shoulder by shoulder in fighting the same battles, and yet these mothers are separated from each other by a barrier of caste custom and—to be honest—prejudice. In their hands lies the early moulding of the character of their nation: in the hands of their sons will be placed the future interests of their Empire. How, then, can the mothers of the East and the West rightly train their sons to be in sympathy with each other, when they (the mothers) know little or nothing of each other? It has been said that some of the many problems which India still

presents to us will not be solved, as long as Indian women are treated merely as being made to appeal to the emotions of men, as long as India does not realise that women were created to appeal through these very emotions to the highest and purest side of man's intellect.

Looking at the matter in its practical light, we find that eight out of ten *memsahabs*' sole experience of Indian women consists in what they have seen of their ayahs, and by these ignorant untutored souls all classes of Indian women are judged. Again, the Indian lady, shut off by the high walls of the zenana and the strict laws of Oriental etiquette from all direct communication with the outer world, generally gathers most of her knowledge of the domestic and social life of our nation from hearsay and the gleanings of *bazaar* gossip. To her brought up to regard all men as infinitely superior beings, entitled to the slavlike submission of their wives, the *memsahab* with her ideas of equality, and the deference she expects of all men as her rightful due, is incomprehensible; and as she is mostly depicted as a pleasure-loving and frivolous being, it is small wonder that the zenana ladies do not feel drawn towards her personally, or to the customs of her nation. Not being able to see matters in their true light they become prejudiced against the domestic and social customs of the West, and their ideas are naturally more or less reflected in the minds of their children.

The Indian ladies, owing to custom, cannot make many advances to their sisters of the West, but they have not been unresponsive when these have been made to them. In fact they have lately made several tentative efforts to know something more of Western women, and it is now for Western women to encourage these timid advances, to rouse themselves and realise the duty they owe to the Indian community.

What is needed is that English and Indian women should not depend for their knowledge of each other upon hearsay and *bazaar* gossip, but should gain that knowledge from personal intercourse with each other, in order that the women of the East, while not losing their national individuality, may assimilate such of the Western ideas as would beautify and strengthen their national characteristics. For no nation to retain its greatness can become cosmopolitan.

• As long as it is exclusively the men of East and West who are endeavouring to bring their nations into closer sympathy with each

other, as long as the women of both races do not take any part in this movement, so long will that bridge which is to span the gulf that now divides us remain uncompleted. No one would presume to say that all the problems which India still presents to us would be satisfactorily solved, if English and Indian women took an active part in realising their duties towards each other ; but that some of them would disappear—who can say how many ?—is more than probable. It has been proved in history that those nations which stunted the intellectual development of their daughters did not progress so rapidly as those others who paid special attention to the intellectual and physical development of their women.

Again, in order to establish any system of social intercourse between the women of India and of England, we have to undertake a task which requires an infinite amount of tact and patience, and which cannot progress satisfactorily, unless the question itself is regarded from an imperial point of view.

There are many difficulties we shall have to contend with, but as a nation we have never been one to show the white feather of fear when these have arisen and beset our path. If then, the women of England, who have in the past made so many sacrifices for their country, will awaken to the realisation of their duties to a community, in this instance the Indian community, will they not be sharing in one more way the burden that weighs so heavily on the shoulders of all Empire-builders ? As surely as there is none but woman who can complete the individuality of man, are there not also times when it is she alone who can help him in completing his work ?

M. LAMONT.

THE CASTE CODES AND POPULAR THEOLOGY OF INDIA.

(Continued from our last number.)

III.—THE MOTHER RAIN-CLOUD AND THE MOTHER-TREE.

THE traditional parent god of these Indian farmers was the god who sent the rain-cloud and the rains it brought, to give life to the crops, the forest plants and their fruits which furnished their chief food and without which they and all animals would die. The rain-cloud Messenger of the Pole Star, author of life, brought from heaven the germs of growing existence, which entered into the soil and thence passed as sap into the stems of the parent trees and plants, and this emanation of the spirit or breath of God distributed through the world, in the seeds it brought forth, the generative powers which made all who partook of them capable of procreating offspring which were to be the parents of future generations. These doctrines were taught to the whole population by their village teachers, who instilled into their minds the belief that they were the children of the trees of the village grove, the earthly home of the gods who dwelt in the trees, and who thence watched over the crops ripened by the heavenly rain. Hence these crops, when gathered, were fresh manifestations of the god of life, and their gratitude for these divine gifts was shown in the sacrifice of first-fruits offered on the first three days of the Pleiades year and presented as food to their creating dead ancestors. These November New Year Feasts to the dead are held yearly by the Tonga islanders, the Ceylonese and in Fiji, Borneo and the Solomon Islands, as we know from the reports of missionaries and others who have lived in Melanesia and Polynesia. They do not, as far as I have been able to discover, survive in India except among the Dhimals, a tribe of the Darjeeling Terai, who hold their annual festival to their dead ancestors in Khārtik (October-November), but the feast has elsewhere been transferred as the national Shraddha or Autumn (sharad) funeral feast to that held yearly in the days ending with the autumnal equinox.

But the Pleiades New Year festival survives everywhere in Western India, without the accompaniment of the first-fruits feast in the Dīpa-vali or revolution (vali) of the Star lamps held on the last two days of Assin (September-October) and on the new moon day and four following days of Khārtik (October-November), and it is the custom for the Saukars or merchants to close their yearly accounts about the 9th of Khārtik or the 26th of October. Also a reminiscence of this year survives in the Dithwan of North Western India, beginning on the 2nd of Khārtik with the festival of the Bhaiaduj Jamdutiya, the Sanskrit Bhratridwitya, in which sisters feed and worship their brothers as the representatives of their dead ancestors, and ending with the first day of the sugar-cane harvest on the eleventh of the month. This festival is that of the Deothan or setting up of the God Vishnu, the year god who then awakes from his sleep during the rains, and it is the New Year's Feast of Ikshvaku kings of Northern India, the sons of the sugar-cane (iksha), who were dominant rulers of all India in the days when the capital was at Patala, the ancient seaport at the mouth of the Indus, built on a site on which the town of Hyderabad in Sind now stands and which is one hundred and fifteen miles from the sea. It was these Ikshvakus who worshipped the sun-horse as ruler of the year in succession to the sun-ass of the Vedic Ashvins, the stars Gemini, and of the barley god Pushan, who succeeded the Munda sun-hen; and their advent to power is marked by their substitution of Ashva-vala or horse-tail grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*), the wild sugar-cane, for Kusha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) as the Prastara or rainwand of office borne by the national high-priests.

The year of the sun-bird starting on its yearly circle of the heavens at the winter solstice still survives in the Sohrai solstitial festival of the Santals, who trace their descent to two eggs of the Hasduk or wild goose, and the Pongol festival of the Madras Dravidians, both of which are New Year festivals.

The next question requiring further consideration is that of the reverence paid to the mother tree. That the tree is universally worshipped in India as the goddess mother of mankind is shown by the general adoration throughout Southern India of the goddess Mari-amma, the tree (marom), mother (amma), the only god or goddess whose image is always made of wood. That this tree mother-goddess of Southern India is also the universal mother of all India is proved by the legend of the founding of the temple of Jugah-nath, the Lord of Space, at Puri in Orissa, the most universally revered shrine in India. There it is the trunk of a tree which is the image of the god worshipped in the temple as Rāma Chandra, the

moon Rāma, a form of Vishnu. This divine tree trunk was brought up by the immortal crow, the original cloud-bird, from beneath the sands of the sea, and presented by him to Indra, the traditional founder of the present temple. This ancestral mother-tree is in the Malay cosmogony called Pauh Janggi, and it is said to grow in the mud of the southern ocean from the seed Kun created by God and conveyed in the rain. It was originally the mother-tree of each federated province which became, in the evolution of the caste system, a mother-tree of each caste. Of these trees that most universally recognised as the sun-mother by the tribes who in Northern India worship the sun bird is the Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*). It is the parent tree of the Males, the Mal Paharias, the Santals, Mundas and Oraons, and the spring festival of all these tribes and of all other castes living in the Sal country is that called Sarhul, held at the blossoming of the Sarhul or Sal tree in Chait (March-April). This festival also extends to Burma and is everywhere looked on as a national invocation for rain and the hoped-for coming of the downpour that is to fertilise the rice-lands, which is anticipated by the water thrown by both sexes on each other from water jars, made in some districts of special forms for use at this festival. The water-throwers are more frequently women than men, the latter being especially liable to be well doused when they are popular among the women. Also every Munda will tell you that his home is in the land of the Sal tree. It was under the Great Sal tree of the Himalayas, the central tree of the earth, that the Buddha was conceived in a dream by his mother, in the story of his birth, and it was under the Sal tree in the Lumbini grove, the village grove of Kapilavastu, that he was born. In a Jātaka or Birth story (465) the Buddha is represented as saying that in his first birth he was himself the King Sal tree, the central tree supporting the palace of King Brahmadatta, the Creator (Brahma) King, dwelling in the Pole Star, the central star of the vault of heaven lit with stars.

Thus the original creating gods of the races who measured time by the revolutions of the Pleiades and the sun round the Pole were the Pole Star god, who sent the wind cloud-bird to drive the stars, sun and moon round the heavens, and the rain brought by the monsoon winds and clouds fertilised the earth with the creating germs of life it distributed over its surface. And the mother goddess, the creating agent who gave birth to the earth-born children of the generating spirit or breath of God, was the mother tree and the rice plant. In another aspect of the theology, the mother goddess was the cloud-enshrined rain ape, who dwelt in the world's mother-tree and was the tree (marom) ape-god Maroti of

the Gonds. In this creed it was the guardian snake god who defined and ordained the track of the winds ruling the year and encompassing the earth with a chain marking the path they were to follow, and this snake god thus transported to the heavens was in popular Theology the god Goraya guarding the boundaries of the primitive provinces and villages.

IV.—THE MIGRATIONS OF INDIAN CASTES.

The original theology was altered by its first evolutionary change when the first Northern immigrants from Western Asia entered India from the North-west. These new comers brought with them a method of year-reckoning based on the annual circuit of the sun-bird round the Pole, coupled with a reminiscence of the year led by the Pleiades. But the star which in this new year led the Pleiades, the sun and their attendant stars round the Pole, was no longer Canopus but Orion. The history of this change is fully explained in an Arabian historical legend which tells how Repha, the giant ape star Canopus, wedded Orion here described as a female star god, and became the parent of the Rephaim, the aboriginal dwellers in Syria, who called themselves the sons of Canopus, but who dwelt in a land where he, as a southern star, was no longer visible.

In tracing the history of the migration from India to Syria of these sons of Canopus, the black Himyarite aborigines of Southern Arabia, we must turn back to the Indian history of Australioid Dravidian founders of villages. These were, as we have seen, carved out of the forest, but they certainly occupied those tracts where the forests were less dense than those covering the level plains made swampy by the intersecting rivers and the dense undergrowth on their banks. These clearings were made in the more open spaces on the high lands bounding the river valleys where the land was naturally well drained, and in seeking for new sites required for the reception of an increasing population they followed the courses of the rivers. In doing this they first conceived the idea of using floating wood as a means of transport and of hollowing out canoes from the trunks of trees with their flint implements, as the Tasmanians used to do till their recent extinction, using as tools flint implements of a very rude palaeolithic type. It was these primitive boatmen that were the ancestors of the present men who traverse the roughest surf in the catamarans of Madras, which are little better than floating logs. Those tribes who first settled on the eastern seashores of the Indian Ocean or Western India and the islands of the Indian Archipelago found themselves on the only coasts within its circuit on which ship-building timber grew, and

from this they made canoes which conveyed groups seeking fresh settlements along the coasts much more easily than a road made by cutting their way over the forest-clad inland hills; and it must have been groups of the more adventurous pioneers of progress who were ancestors of the Himyarite dwellers on the coasts of the Persian Gulf and Southern Arabia. That these people came thither by sea is proved by the name given to them on Akkadian tablets which call them "the black-headed sons of Ia," the god of the house (I) of the waters (A)—the god who came to Eridu as the fish and who was the Indian parent cloud god. He in Akkadian national history was Ia Khan, Ia the fish, the god clothed in fish-skins, who landed at Dilmun, the home of god (dil), the island Bahreim, and at Eridu or Eri-duga, the holy (duga) city (eri), the seaport on the Persian Gulf, and he was brought thither by the constellation Argo, called Ma, the ship. He, as the fish possessor of the soul of life, the only living dweller in the southern ocean where the mother-tree grew, taught according to Akkadian tradition the elements of civilisation to the earliest dwellers in the land. It was his sons who brought thither the belief in the village grove, the mother grove of Eridu, where according to the Akkadian hymn, Dumu-zi, the son (dumu) of life (zi), the star Orion, was born from its central tree, the centre tree of the earth. This belief was preserved together with the rest of these village customs and traditions which united them as a separate organism, and these were handed down to the most remote descendants of the sons of the tree who retained their old creed and caste rules in all their wanderings in far distant lands.

It was these sons of the tree who placed the temples of the gods in the centre of the village under the shade of the sacred grove, a custom disseminated through Syria, Asia-Minor, Greece and Italy. Also they introduced into all these countries the seasonal dances of Indian ritual and the worship of the sacred snake wired round the left arm of Æsculapius, the god physician, and of those kept in his temples. The national Indian snake became the snake gods of Athens and Rome, fed and worshipped in the temple of Erectheus at Athens, and in the cave in the sacred grove of Juno Lanuvium at Rome. They also took with them the November reckoning of the Pleiades year, of which the New Year's day is still held as a national feast by the Himyarites of Southern Arabia. Thence this year went to Asia-Minor and Greece as that begun by the three days' feast of the Thesmophoria held on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of Puanepsion (October-November), that is on the 24th, 25th and 26th of October. It was a night festival of the women of each village or province who dwelt in booths while it lasted and at it, as at the original

New Year's feast of first fruits, which it reproduced, no living victims were offered except the swine thrown into the pits consecrated to the serpents, a sacrifice answering to the same offered to the sun-god Rahu by the Indian Dosadhs. After the feast, the year fires were lighted, at the Chalkeia held on the 19th of Puanepsi or the 1st of November. This custom was continued by the Druids, worshippers of the sacred oak which was in Greece, the sacred oak tree of Dodona, and they spread throughout Europe the custom of lighting the year's fires at the beginning of November when they celebrated the annual feast to the Dead, preserved in the widely distributed observance of All Hallow Eve, All Saints and All Souls Day on the 31st of October and the 1st and 2nd of November.

The national mother tree was also reproduced in the pine tree of Cybele, the cave (cybele) goddess of Asia Minor, and in the ash Ygg-drasil of the worshippers of Odin, the god of the sacred grove of Upsala in Sweden. His chief counsellors were the two ravens, Hugon and Mugon, who sit on his shoulder and are the northern reproductions of the cloud birds of the two monsoons, the two birds who in *Rigveda* I. 164, 20-22, sit on the top of the world's tree, watching the alternations of day and night which ripen the fruit it yields. The ash Ygg-drasil is an exact survival of the southern mother tree, for they both have the centre of their three roots in the ocean, for it is this root of the tree Ygg-drasil which goes down to Mimirs well in Ginnungagap, the gap of the Great Abyss.

But we must now return to the history of Orion's year and its adoption by the new tribes formed by the union of offshoots from the Indian sons of the year of the sunbird and the Pleiades with the northern races found in their new homes in South Western Asia. It was here that they ceased to make rice their chief crop and substituted for it barley and wheat which, as all botanists admit, are products of wild Mesopotamian grasses. These crops they brought into Syria and Asia Minor together with the millets they had formed from wild originals which they first sowed along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris in the new villages they organised on the common field system begun in India.

In Asia Minor they met with the hunters of the North, the Scandinavian Finn-Lapp races who had dwelt in caves during the glacial epoch and had there worshipped the deer sun-god, the Celtic Cernunnus, the English Herne, the Hunter depicted with the horns which mark the progress of the year by their growth in spring and their fall in winter.

This deer sun-god was the year god of the worshippers of the Greek Artemis, called Arktos, the Great Bear Goddess, and it was the parent god of the Fauns of Italian mythology. These races measured the year by Orion, the starry form of the storm god, the Wild Hunter who drove the stars and sun round the Pole, and it was this star which was adopted by the new confederacy as that which led the Pleiades and their attendant stars round the sky. This new year of Orion, called in India the year of the Karanas, was one of three seasons, spring, summer and winter, instead of the two seasons of the previous Indian years, and it was also measured by lunar phases. This was the first measurement dividing the year into months of which there were twelve in the year, and to these were allotted twenty-nine days and nights, or fourteen and a half in each phase, and each of these was divided into three five-days-and-night weeks. These twelve twenty-nine-day months only gave three hundred and forty-eight days to the year, and twelve more days were wanted to make up the 360 days of the Solar and Pleiades year. These twelve days, those immediately preceding the winter solstice, were in the Indian Vedic ritual dedicated to a twelve days' sacrifice to Prajapati (Orion), ending in the search for the Soma plant yielding the creating sap of the new year. These days were, by a custom which can be traced from Scandinavia through Germany, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to India, days of festivity during which the star god Orion slept with his daughter star Aldebaran in Taurus, the Queen of the Pleiades, and made her the mother of the sun-god, born at the end of ten lunar months in Asia Minor, the home of this phase of the story, from the Cypress tree, the mother-tree of the Phœnicians into which she transformed herself. In Syria the year star god was awakened from his sleep at the winter solstice by the quails. In the Akkadian story of Gilgames, the sun-god, his charioteer Iolaus or Orion was wounded by the arrow of Istar, the Akkadian form of the Greek Great Bear Goddess Artemis, who in Greek legend slew Orion in Ortygia, the island of the quails who waken the sun-god. Iolaus died at the end of twelve days, but was brought back again to life as the year god of the new year by the prayers of Gilgames. This Akkadian story introduces us to the most interesting historical phase of this widespread year's tale—that of the annual death of the year god, shot by the arrow. In the Scandinavian and German acted form of the myth the year god Orion and his mate Aldebaran are disguised as a horned deer and a doe, and they both sing songs together on the eve of the solstice. When the end of the year comes, he assaults and violates her, when he is shot by the arrow of the Wild Hunter, which is, in the Hindu variant, the arrow of

Rudra, the three stars in Orion's belt. In this latter Indian story the son begotten to instantaneous life by the embraces of Prajapati (Orion) and Rohini (Aldebaran) is Vastospati, the lord (pati) of the house (vastos), the god of the household fire who became in the national ritual, as we are told in Rigveda X. 61, the god Nabhi-nedishtha, the nearest (nedishtha) to the navel (nabhi), the sacred fire in the centre of the altar placed at the centre of the world's mother grove. The birth of the national yearly kindled fires of the altar and the house is in Vedic Mythology watched by the Ribhus, the sons of Sudhanvan, the god bearing the bow (dhanvan) of Su or Shu the bird. They were taught by Tvashtar, the god of the two (tva) seasons of the Pleiades and solstitial years, to make the three revolving cups of the three seasons of this year and the year cow and calf. At the end of their year's task they slept for twelve days and nights in the house of Agohya, the god who cannot be hidden, the Pole Star god.

After disentangling the leading threads of this complicated mass of mythic details we find that the clue to this ancient ethnological riddle is to be found in the Greek story which makes Artemis the goddess of the Great Bear, the slayer of Orion, the year god. The advent of this new star factor, the Great Bear, into the story marks the formation of a new variant ascribing the yearly death of the year god to the arrow of the Great Bear instead of to Rudra's death arrow, the three stars in Orion's belt completing the three seasons of his year. The Great Bear in its annual circuit round the Pole clearly marks by its successive positions the seasons of the year. Hence it has always been used as the constellation governing the year by the Chinese, the Micmac Indians and Mexicans of America, by the framers of the myth of Theseus and Ariadne in Greece and also, as I shall now show, by all the nations who founded their mythology on the death and rebirth of the year god slain by the arrow of the three seasons of Orion's year.

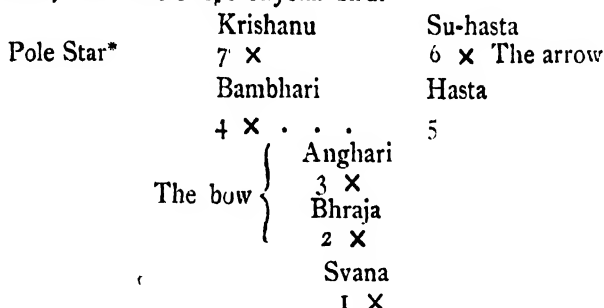
In Greece Ariadne, the Constellation Corona Borealis, wooed by Theseus, was the daughter of Minos the measurer (men), and Pasiphaee, she who shines for all, the moon goddess. Ariadne, the star lying south of the Great Bear, showed Theseus the way through the labyrinth of stars leading to the den of the Minotaur, the year bull of Minos, the year calf of the Hindu Ribhus. This constellation of Ariadne, the Corona Borealis, is in the chronological astronomy of the Micmac Indians the cradle of the year god, which he enters from his year's chariot, the Great Bear, when it is at the winter solstice reaching its winter resting-place due south of the Pole Star. When the new born or revived god leaves his

cradle and enters his Great Bear chariot to begin his circuit of the Pole Star, his charioteer turns the constellation to the north-east, bringing it due east of the Pole Star at the vernal equinox. Thence he goes northward and is due north of the Pole Star at midsummer, whence he descends with his head, the chariot stars, downwards, reaching the west at the autumnal equinox and returning to his southern cradle at the winter solstice.

In another version of the arrow story which I have not yet noticed, and which, as will be seen, gives us a clear insight into the history of the evolution of Indian caste ritual, the leader of the heavenly chariot is Krishanu, the drawer (karsh) of the bow. He is said in the Rigveda and Brahmanas to have shot with his arrow the Shyena bird, the year cloud-bird of primitive Indian mythology, and thus to have brought to earth her blood and one of her feathers, which grew up into the Palasha tree (*Butea frondosa*) which grows in Central India as a creeper spreading from tree to tree and covering the woods at the summer solstice with sheets of crimson flowers. This tree is a parent tree of the Mundas, and of their septs born from its flowers, called after it Toeba. Vedic ritual tells us that it was the first tree whence the generating sap called Soma was made to be consumed as a sacramental drink at the annual festivals, and hence it is called the Brahman or the supreme god, and it and the subsequent sacred trees which succeeded it as Soma trees in the evolution of Indian ritual became the national centre, Soma tree, called in the Rigveda Vanaspati, or Lord (pati) of the forest, the tenth god summoned as the ruler of the tenth lunar month of gestation to be present at the annual Soma sacrifices.

As the symbol of the creating god who generates life on earth by the rain and the sap of the mother plants, three of its green twigs were ordered in the ritual of the year's seasonal festivals to be placed in the forms of a triangle round the central fire on the altar, which was born, as we have seen, at the winter solstice, and this triangle is said to be laid by the Gandharva Vishvavasu, the creator (vasu) of living things, and he is the god of the Great Bear whose archer is Krishanu. The seven stars forming the creating constellation are called in the Brahmanas; (1) Svana, the twanger of the bow; (2) Bhraja, the shiner; (3) Anghari; (4) Bambhari; (5) Hasta the hand; (6) Su-hasta, the hand of Su the bird; and (7) Krishanu. They form, as will be seen in the following diagram of the position of the archer constellation at the vernal equinox, the bow of the five-day weeks of the creating hand of the year god which shoots the arrow of Su the bird and slays the year cloud bird with the two pointer stars, which

in all the revolutions of the constellation around the Pole always point to the Pole Star, the home of the Shyena bird.



This arrow is said in the Brahmanas to represent the three seasons of the year, Varuna, the rain god (var, varsha) of the north forming the feathers of spring, Vishnu, the year god of summer, its shaft, and Agni Soma, the generating fire god, its winter barb or point. And hence it is this revolving arrow of the Great Bear which marks, in the world-wide mythology of the year of three seasons that I have cited, the end and beginning of the year at whatever season may be assigned in the national ritual for its commencement.

The new year thus begun by the arrow of the Great Bear started, as we have seen, with the lighting of the year's fires at dates varying with the national New Year's day, and as the worship of the household and national fire began in Asia Minor with the confederation of the northern and southern clans, the worship of the Great Bear as the national New Year Star also dates from the same period. It was then that the custom of village unions between the sexes, which began in India, and the community of inter-tribal intercourse between men and women of the same tribe, customary among the northern hunting tribes, was superseded by individual marriages. This institution was derived from the Ugrian Finns, the race from whom the Akkadians of Eastern Persia and the highlands of Mesopotamia were descended, for among them the wife of the head of the family was the ruler of the interior of the house and priestess of the household fire, which she extinguished and re-lighted annually at the Joula festival of the winter solstice, which began their year. It was these people who made the family the national unit instead of the village province or tribe and to whom the ever-burning fire, only extinguished at the year's end, was the symbol of their parentage traced back by the northern tribes to the fire stone, and by those of the south to the fire born from the inter-friction of the wooden fire-drill in the wooden socket of the mother-tree.

The three families united in Asia Minor as the hunters of the north, the farmers of India and the Finn worshippers of the household and communal fires of each village and province became the race who called themselves the Ibai-erri, or people (erri) of the rivers (ibai), the Iberians who traced their national descent to the caves of their mother mountain Ararat, consecrated to Cybele, the goddess of the Phrygian cave (Cybele), worshipped as the mother pine tree and the black fire stone of Pessinus. It was from Ararat that the Euphrates rose as the parent river of the men of Mesopotamia. These people as the Basques, the men of the forest (baso), spread themselves over Europe as the founders of the villages of the Neolithic age ; for the barley, wheat and millets grown in the lands of these villages and the domestic cattle kept by their inhabitants have all been pronounced by botanists and zoologists to have originated in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and they always in all their wanderings retained the communal ownership and periodical redistribution of land which they brought from India and which Diodorus Siculus tells us was the universal tenure among all the Celt Iberian races and also, as Tacitus tells us, among the Swabians of Germany.

V.—IMMIGRATION OF NORTHERN RACES INTO INDIA.

But these people did not confine their migrations to the European lands of the West, but they also resought those of India whence their forefathers had emigrated as farmers, and they on their return journey took with them the year of three seasons, spring, summer and winter, and the new institutions of the household fire and family home. Their progress step by step is recorded in Zend history as that of the race called in the title of the Second Mandala of the Rigveda, the Mada or Medians called the Bhargava, the sons of Bhrigu, the fire god Bhur, the oldest of the three Brahman sections of Bhrigus, Angiras and Atharvans. They are called Bhargava Saunaka, that is those who belong to the dog (shvan), the fire dog of the fire-worshippers, the dog star Sirius called by Homer the dog of Orion. The Zend Avesta first locates them on the Daitya or second mother river, the Kur or Araxes, which flows from Ararat to the Caspian Sea. It was there that their mother Hom or Soma tree grew as the wild cypress tree (*Tamarix Indica*) which became the Phœnician cypress tree mother of the sun god. It was from this tree that their prophet Zarathustra was born in his first birth. From thence they passed to the mother land of fire, the petroleum fields of Baku, called Ataro Patakan, the home of the sun and fire god Atar, and they next came to the land of Rai or Raghu, the home of the Medes, consecrated by its name to the sun god Raghu, who was not the deer sun god of Orion's year, but the visible

sun of day, who marks his daily and yearly circuit of the Heavens by the shadows thrown by the gnomon stone, the Hir-men-sol or Great Stone of the Sun on the centre of the Sun circles of the neolithic age. This was first the great national gnomon stone, such as the great Pillar stone of St. Renan in Brittany, which became the sacred obelisk of Egypt, and this was at a later period surrounded by a circle of stones.

From Raghu they went to Balkh on the Oxus, whence they marched through Seistan to India by Herat on the Hari, called in the Zend Avesta Harah-vaiti, a name which they took with them as that of their mother Indian river the Sarasvati, the *h* and *s* being interchangeable as in the names Hindu and Sindu. Their leader is called in the Mahabharata Vahlika or the man of Balkh, and they marched under the banner of the Yupa or sacrificial stake, the three-pronged trident still worshipped in the Punjab by their reputed descendants, the great tribe of the Takkas, meaning the artisans who founded the city of Takila or Taksha sila, the rock of the Takkas. The three prongs of the trident mark the three seasons of the year dedicated to Shesh Nag, the God of spring Vasuk, or Basuk Nag, the god of summer, the father God of the men of the forest (baso), and Taksh Nag, the god of winter, father of the Takka race. They also bore with them the household fire Agni Vaishvanara, common to all living beings, (Vaishva) sons of the god Vishnu ; and their king, the leader of the army of fire-worshippers, is called Videgha, or he of two races or lands, and Mathava, the twirler (math), who produces fire by twirling the wooden fire-drill in the wooden socket. His high priest was Gotama, the son of the bull (go), father of the Brahmans who call their septs gotras or cow-stalls, called also Rahugana or inspired by Rahu, to whom some were offered. These two led the united races, according to the story of the Brahmanas, through India, going from the Sarasvati on the North-West to the Sudanira or Gundak, the north-eastern boundary of Magadha, where they ended their journey. But besides these two versions of the immigration into India of the races who brought together crops from Asia Minor we have another in the Gond Song of Lingal. This tells of the second birth of Lingal, the god of the Linga, who had first taught the immigrants from the north-east to grow rice and had been slain by those he instructed. He was recalled to life by Kirtail Sabal, the crow or raven messenger of the god, the god of the rain cloud, and began his new rule by killing Bhour Nag, the snake of the West, and saving the lives of the children of Bindo bird. She, as the rain bird bringing up the south-west monsoon at midsummer, took him to the peak of the Himalayas, whence the Jumna or Yamuna, the river of the twins (yama), rises.

There he besought the Creator to give him a new race of Gonds, and in answer to his prayer the new immigrants were born from the caves of the mountain, as their ancestors were born from those of Mount Ararat. They at once began to cook kesari (*lathyrus sativa*) one of the new crops, and while they were thus engaged the flood raised by the rains came down and swept them all away, except Lingal, saved by Kaswal or Dam the tortoise, and four Gonds saved by Puse the alligator, called also Mugra or Mugger. He attempted to drown them but they were taken by Lingal on the boat of the tortoise, the father of the Kushika or tortoise (Kusha) race. They were landed at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges where the great annual festival of the Magh-mela is held yearly at Puryag at the new moon of Magh (January-February). The chief festival is that held every twelfth year to commemorate the union of the two races, the new comers from the north and the aborigines of the south.

Lingal then divided the united sons of the tortoise into eight tribes, four of which, the Koikopal or cattle herdsmen, the Manawaja or makers of divine images, Dahakwacas or drumbeaters and the Koilabutal or dancers, belonged to the new artisan classes. The others were aboriginal and they were all ruled by the Koikopal or cattle herdsmen. He taught them to build houses (dama) and to grow the millets called Jowari (*holcus sorghum*) and Kesari (*lathyrus sativa*), and built the city of Nur-bhumi of the hundred (nur) lands. He also appointed priests Pradhans or Ojhas to teach them their religious duties, and these now survive in the Ojhas still elected in each Parha or province of Chutia Nagpore, and they became, when amalgamated in the present caste system, the Sakadwipa Brahmans, the local medicine men or priests of knowledge (odjh). They also learnt from Lingal how to make the trident image of their year god, that of the Takkas already described, but the Gond trident did not represent their snake gods but the female tiger goddesses, Manko Kayetal and Jango Rayetal, who were wives of the god of the central prong; and the whole was called Pharsi Pen or the female (pen) trident (pharsi); and it was evidently originally one of the three goddesses of which the centre was Tari Pennu, the female Tari, the Pole Star, mother goddess of the Kandhs of Orissa, of the Ooraons of Chutia Nagpore, worshipped according to Hiouen Tsiang under the same name in Magadha, and the mother goddess of the Buddhists of Thibet. They were the three mother goddesses of the Mons or Mallis who call themselves the sons of the tiger, but were originally the sons of the snake worshipped by the Takkas.

The track of this line of descent of the trident worshippers is clearly marked by the secret religion of the Raj Gonds named after Rai or Rahu,

which is never told to those outside the tribe, but which I learned from their high priest who was a great friend of mine. He told it to me one day quite spontaneously, and not in answer to any questions I asked him, but he spoke with great fear and trembling. Their chief god, whose existence and ritual is only known to initiated male Gonds, is Sek Nag, the rain snake, who is evidently the original form of Shesh Nag, the Takka god who is called in the Song of Lingal Bhaur Nag. He is worshipped as a wooden snake made of the wood of the Saja tree (*terminalia tomentosa*) under which his shrine is fixed at his festival held at night every seven years, when his worshippers, who are all males, appear before him naked. No living victims are offered to him, but seven coconuts which will only ripen and flourish within reach of the sea breezes, seven pieces of betel nut, milk and flowers. These offerings prove him to be the snake god of the original dwellers in the land to whom first fruits were offered, who had become the parent god of the continents rising from the sea, into which the northern immigrant races, who were sons of the cow, had been admitted as the partners of the original Marya or tree (marom) Gonds who, like the Mundas, drank no milk.

The original bloodless sacrifices were partly superseded when the swine sacrifices to the god Rahu were introduced, and to these further victims were added by the regenerated Lingal, who taught his worshippers to sacrifice goats, cocks and a calf, and also subsequently buffaloes, as the totem animals from which they claimed descent, and to drink at their festivals large quantities of *daru*, a fermented spirit made from Mahua (*Bassia latefolia*), instead of the original rice beer of the Munda races, and also to consecrate the trident god Pharsipen by pouring *daru* over it. In the new religious system thus introduced the god worshipped was no longer the sexless power which sent the fertilizing rain to generate life by its diffusion over the earth, but the male parent of life, the revolving Linga or fire-drill of heaven turned round by the revolutions of the Great Bear who begot in the female mother, the earth penetrated by the springs whence the rivers rose to disseminate the seed of heaven, the living creatures born from the blood of the male father god infused into their veins. Hence the water changed to blood succeeded the pure rain water as the generating bringer of the seed of life, and it was to enrich the soil with their blood that both human and animal victims were slain at the seasonal festivals.

Then animal victims were offered in Vedic ritual on the Uttara-vedi, the north altar of Varuna, the rain (var) god of the summer solstice. For these sacrifices it was covered with branches of the Plaksha or Pakhur

tree (*Ficus infectoria*), the parent fig tree worshipped at the Magh-mela of Puryag at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges at the new moon of January-February. Also on this altar the triangle round the sacred fire was not, made of Palasha twigs but of those of the Pitudaru (*Pinus deodara*), which reproduced in India the pine tree of Cybele, the cave mother of Asia Minor.

The god Linga, the author of the fusion of the two races, is worshipped in popular theology as Shiva, called the white three-eyed god, that is of the three eyes of the triangle of three seasons of the year placed on the altars, and he carries both the tridents of Takkas and Gonds and the bow called Pinaka whence the year arrow was shot. He is worshipped in southern India as Vira-bhadra, the holy phallus Virupaksha, and his image is a round fire stone similar to that of Cybele, and he is the parent God of the shepherd races who call themselves Idaiya Kurumbas or the sons of Ida or Eda, the father ram sacrificed by the Bengal shepherds called Gareri; this was the victim consecrated in Vedic ritual to Varuna, to whom in the primitive forms of worship both rams and ewes were offered, for which images made of barley meal were afterwards substituted. This god of the shepherd races was apparently the God Saiv worshipped, as Castren tells us, by all the Ugro-Finn races. It was he who led the northern immigrants from their mother (amba) river Kur on the Caspian sea into India, and who brought with him his wife Uma, the goddess of the flax (uma) plants, the Tisi of India which is never used for its fibre but only for its oil, and the oil cult introduced by these new races gives us, as we shall presently see, most important insight into the history of the castes.

(To be continued.)

J. F. HEWITT.

FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

"The art of Political Economy . . . may be partially, but only partially separated from the general art of legislation or Government."

—SIDGWICK.

THERE is no greater source of confusion in scientific thinking than the habit of expressing truths in the shape of general propositions. It is owing to this practice of making sweeping assertions in favour of the one or the other that the twin policies of Free Trade and Protection are represented as antagonistic and perfectly distinct in their nature. The march of human progress does not lie along the line of any single force or idea. It takes its course, rather, along the line of the resultant of the various forces acting on society at the same time.* So it is with Protection and Free Trade. Free Trade, no doubt, should be the general rule, but let Protection prevail in the numerous exceptional cases. Free Trade is as yet the usual rule: it will be the universal rule when the masses of mankind will have learnt the identity of self-interest and general interest. As Spencer has said, an absolute ethics will be of use only under such conditions—at present we must be content with a relative species of ethics. The same is true of political economy.

With the progress of time, the opposite watchwords, Protection and Free Trade, have come to be used in a sense very different from their old significations in the days of Physiocrates and Adam Smith or even of Cobden and Bright. The units of Political Economy were once countries; these grew into nations and now have passed into Empires. Protection as extended to the British Empire and its allies would mean Free Trade to something like half the globe. The hand of time has been moving so fast that the old destructions

* Of such opposed forces we may enumerate Conservatism and Liberalism in the world of action, Nominalism and Realism, or Optimism and Pessimism, in the world of thought.

and barriers are already vanishing away. The movement of humanity towards concentration is still proceeding on its course. When the Teutonic races will form one State-group, the Græco-Latin a second, the Scandinavian a third and the Mongolian a fourth, the science of politics will show traces of merging into the higher science of humanity. Then the day for absolute Free Trade will have arrived.

But at present political economy should act as the handmaid of Politics. That great science includes the whole compass of human motives and activities in its huge embrace. Political economy takes account only of one of these great motives—the desire for wealth. Therefore it must learn to correct its own partial conclusions by bringing them to the test of political experience. It has no right to run ahead of politics, which has the duty of watching all the aspects of national prosperity. The true sense of the phrase “political economy” is to be had by inverting and then translating it. Political economy is only monetary patriotism.

When mankind is sufficiently remote from the present era of incipient Free Trade, history will thus record the career of the idea. It occurred in the 18th century to a genius of singular boldness and foresight. It was adopted at once by a single nation, not for its inherent truth, but because of that nation's circumstances which were peculiarly adapted to it. Those circumstances changed; that single great nation failed to convince its neighbours of the truth of the new idea. The rapid progress of the idea had exhausted the aggressive power and patience of the great nation which had undertaken to champion it; and a pause ensued in its active propaganda. Nevertheless, owing to the gradual expansion of nationalities, the idea was being practically, though unconsciously, followed out.

What is stated above should be repeated here. England did not take up the idea of Free Trade on account of any appreciation of the economical harmonies. Agrarian troubles at home, and an unlimited expansion of the State abroad, made her peculiarly disposed to accept the doctrine.* The American War of Independence, too, had its effect in enlarging the views of English statesmen. The battle for Free Trade was fought out not in the Parliament, but at Plassey, Quebec and Yorktown.

* The arrangement of a protective tariff for such an empire would have been burdensome and confusing in the extreme.

The Manchester School of Political Economy has tended, like all other schools, to crystallise its founders' ideas into a hard and inflexible creed. In its abstract enthusiasm it has overlooked the separation of the theoretical and the practical branches of political economy, between the science and the art. "In the English political economists of the last century there was a tendency to restrict the signification 'Political Economy' to the former"—so writes Prof. Sidgwick; and he adds, "The art of political economy, which deals with a special department of governmental interference, designed to improve either the social production of wealth or its distribution, may be partially, but only partially, separated from the general art of legislation and government."

As the controversy has received considerable attention and bears greatly on the present condition of the world's trade in general, and on the proposed British Zollverein in particular, it may be well to examine the main lines of argument on either side.

The Free Trader asserts that as the champion of a restrictive and unnatural policy, the onus of proof is on the advocate of Protection. The cry of Protection, according to him, is swollen by the voices of self-interest and of an ignorant democracy. Protection must destroy the action of division of labour among nations, and thus sin against the principle of international utilitarianism. It is bound to increase the cost of articles, and a part of this burden will have to be borne not only by the consumers but by the producers. For what financial skill can draw a sharp line between these two classes? Every reasonable advantage to be expected of protection already belongs to each nation, on account of the natural vicinage of its workshops and fields to its markets. Letting in the principle of Protection on any point would be like letting in the floodtide. Harassed financiers and politicians, seeking popular applause, will have found in increasing the protective tariffs a panacea for all personal and national evils. With a free hand about these tariffs, what politician will arrange the protective system for the conflicting integers of a world-wide empire, and what reputation will come out of office free from the suspicion of corruption? Even if a "Zollverein" is got up, it will be as short-lived as other treaties of commerce. Let us, then, take no account of our increasing imports, for with the growth of imports, exports are bound to increase.

Above all, let us trust in a wholesome circulation of our capital from land to land under the influence of Free Trade.

On the other hand, the Protectionist¹ complains that his position is not understood by the Free Trader. "I, too, am a free trader, but it must be a free trade of perfect reciprocity," says he, with Henry Clay. With Colonel Torrens, he asks that Free Trade should also be fair trade, since each protective duty levied on our goods by the foreigner is as a tribute paid by us to him. Our present condition is not one of Free Trade—but an absurd parody of it; it means for us a system of free imports and of fettered manufactures. As there is to be no indiscriminate charity since it defeats its own aim, so there is to be no indiscriminate Free Trade. It is by our policy of indiscriminate Free Trade or rather by the want of any definite mercantile policy whatever that we have left nothing to offer to other nations to induce them to be Free Traders. We have also no check left on over-exportation or over-importation in the Empire.

Man, says the Protectionist, was not made for Free Trade, but Free Trade for man. Every nation has a right to exist and to defend itself against the destructive war of tariffs which is being waged in times of seemingly profound peace. Economic self-containment is most necessary, especially in the matters of the foodstuff of the nation. At the present rate of growth of capital, invention and labour, newer industries are sadly needed by each country for the full employment of national energies and to avoid the degradation of both capital and labour. The constant employment of a nation in a few monotonous pursuits will have a deteriorating influence on its character—while the constant drain of one or of a few articles of export causes "earth butchery."* Above all, it is universally acknowledged that as regards nations at least, "defence is to be more valued than opulence."

The Protectionist, moreover, being of the historical school of political economy, directs us to the experience both of the past and the present. Adam Smith was of opinion that it was the protective policy of the Navigation Laws which transferred to England the naval supremacy from the Dutch. (See to the same effect T. Rogers' "The Economic Interpretation of History.") According to Dr. Cunningham

* If revenue must be raised by imports, why let them fall on such industries as threaten our own? The superiority of advantages to a nation of the internal trade over those of the external is not to be forgotten.

it was the system of bounties of 1689, which turned the scale of commercial superiority in England's favour, "and was the corner-stone of our prosperity." England's commerce has ever thriven in the midst of a system of Governmental Regulation, and even in the 19th century regulation was the order of the day—Free Trade being an exception made to it in the matter of tariffs only. Regulation helped on England under Elizabeth, under Anne, under Victoria. As to more recent experience, we have seen the United States, Russia, France and Germany growing into great nations in spite of the supposed incubus of Protection; we have seen the falsification of the hopes of the Manchester School which prophesied that the growing popularity of commercial treaties in the world was the *avant-coureur* of an era of Free Trade; we have seen a reaction in England against a reckless abuse of the Free Trade principle. And what is the present condition of the Empire? Its trade and mercantile marine are threatened by a huge system of trusts. The United States have become by far the greatest suppliers of corn to the heart of the Empire. Foreign nations have begun to treat our colonies as separate economical entities—and this may soon extend to tempting them away from the true path of patriotism. England's industrial supremacy is boldly questioned. The very colonies are taking to raising a wall of protective tariffs against British goods. Surely, it may be argued that there was never a greater necessity for forming a protected zone round our Empire, soon to be assailed on all hands by the protective policy of other States.*

Unquestionably, if by the above arguments the Free Trader has made out his general rule, the apologist for Protection has as clearly made out a case for a brief spell of Protection. But even granting that the rulers of the State should take up the weapons afforded by Protection, they should be wielded wisely. Our Imperial Senate should give to its ministers these powers in the same serious spirit in which the Roman Senate directed its Consuls "to see that the Commonwealth suffered no harm." The best way to go about the protective policy is the indirect one. The power of England lies in her mercantile marine. Let this be subsidised; the German Government has given subsidies to its African liners;

* With our present means of rapid communication the problem of managing the great Zollverein will not be so formidable as it has been represented to be.

they have not only seized the commerce of East Africa for Germany, but have met the American shipping trust on equal terms, while the British Companies were quite absorbed by the Trust. (*Edinburgh Review*, 1902, p. 360.) Similarly, the Railway systems of the British Empire should be subsidised. Thus, if a campaign of tariffs is to begin, our whole weight should be flung on the enemy's communications, so as to make the conflict short and decisive.

It should be remembered, however, that any system of Protection is avowedly temporary. It is only a sort of education for the commerce of a nation whose infant and promising industries are to be saved from being swamped by foreign manufactures whose only merit is that they were earlier in the field. It is only meant for a time to serve as a sort of bracing tonic for the Empire's weakened limbs. It is to be only a temporary threat to other Powers to coerce them into Free Trade. The Free Trader, meanwhile, has the consolation of knowing that with the growing friendliness of international relations and the mobility of labour and capital, the day of Free Trade is at hand ; that Protection is used only as a means to obtain Free Trade as the end ; that though all nations began with Protection, all must end with Free Trade.

JEHANGIR C. COYAJI.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SEYCHELLES ISLANDS.

THE early history of the Seychelles Islands, those pearls of the Indian Ocean, does not seem to have been written yet. Some few years ago, looking over some old manuscripts belonging to the Hydrographical Department of the Ministry of the Navy in Paris, I came across, in a dusty pasteboard box, the logs of the first discoverers of this magnificent archipelago. Although considered as a dependency of the Mauritius Government, they interest a good deal more the Indian port of Bombay, with which they are connected by commercial interests far more important than those of Port Louis. I thought, in consequence, that the history of the discovery of these Islands would interest the readers of *East & West*.

If we are to believe the author of the Colonial Office List of 1892, the Seychelles must have been discovered in 1505 by Pedro de Mascarenhas, the celebrated Portuguese navigator. This assertion is not authenticated by any historical document, and is difficult to prove. Although I have read all that has been published on these Islands, and also a large number of manuscript documents never yet printed, it has been impossible for me to find the sources of this statement. Sure enough, the archipelago, or most likely the highest of these lands, must have been seen by the Portuguese navigators a little time after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, then called the Stormy Cape, by Vasco de Gama. When, in 1500, the celebrated Pedro Alvarez Cabral made his second voyage to India round this Cape of Storms, he probably got sight of them. It is a fact that we find on the portulans, or naval charts, of Alberto Cantino and next of Nicolas Caneiro, drawn a few weeks later in the year 1502, a large island called Y. Rana, some distance in the north-east of Madagascar, with this note "*Em ista insulla a musco benzoim et cedar porcelana*," i.e., much gum, benzoin, cedar trees and porcelain shells are found in this island. The word *Rana* is certainly not a Latin name, all the

portulans of that date being written in the Portuguese language. It cannot hence signify frog. These amphibia have been always rare in these islands,* and consequently could not have been noticed by navigators, who do not seem even to have set foot on them. At least not a tittle of evidence has been adduced yet for the supposition that the Portuguese ever landed on the archipelago. We are inclined to believe that it stands for the Arabic name *Rana* or *Raneh*, given by the celebrated Arab geographer, Edrici, in his work "*Nozhet-al moschtak*" to a group of islands of the Indian Ocean, which M. A. Grandidier identifies with the Comoro and Madagascar Islands. It is quite probable that the Portuguese derived their information about the islands of the Seychelles group from the Arab navigators, who could not fail to find them in their travels between the Arabian Coast, Madagascar, and the Comoro Islands, where they had colonies long before the sixteenth century. One of them was brought by Vasco de Gama in Portugal in 1499, and he served as pilot on board the vessel of Pedro Alvarez (Pedrol Varez) Cabral in 1500. *Musco* stands likely for *muilo* (much) by a clerical error of an ignorant Portuguese scribe or copyist. Musk is indeed unknown in these parts of the globe, being at this time, as it is now, a product of South-Western China and Tibet. *A muilo* is also in the ordinary form of the chart inscriptions of the time of the manuscript. We have less difficulty in recognising in *cedar* the *bois de cèdre*, so common in the actual language of Creoles in the Seychelles Islands, as well as in Mauritius and Reunion. It is evidently the magnificent tree known to naturalists under the Latin name of *Casuarina equisetifolia*, the Filao of New Caledonia and other islands of Oceania, which grows abundantly and to a great height on the shores of the Seychelles and Mascareen Islands as well as on the African coast, where its seeds were most probably brought from the far distant lands of Malayasia by the oceanic currents. It was probably named so from its red wood resembling that of the cedar of Mount Lebanon, although it belongs to quite a distinct family. The word *benzoim* is actually translated benzoim and applied to a native tree yielding, by incision of its bark, a sweet smelling gum. It is the *Terminalia benzoim* or *T. angustifolia* of naturalists, but it has no relation whatever with the real benzoim tree, the *Styrax benzoim* of Burmah and the Moluccas.

* The word *porcelana*, which the French have translated *porcelaines*, applies to the pretty univalve shells well known in Europe under that name. Called *levrant* by the inhabitants of the Seychelles, they are

* We have seen only two species: *Rana Mascariensis* and a small green tree frog, *Agalychnis Seychellensis*.

catalogued in the collection under the family name of *Cypræa*. We have seen during our stay in the Seychelles about seventy species, gathered on the coral reefs of Mahé Island. Among them are found the famous cowrie shells (*Cypræa moneta*) still used as money amongst many native tribes of Central Africa. Let us note, *en passant*, that the French translation of *porcelana* as meaning chinaware is wrong, the idea conveyed by the Portuguese word having nothing to do with chinaware or porcelain, but meaning little pigs, being the diminutive of *porcos*, from the appearance of the shells resembling small fat pigs.

We spoke of the Arabs as probably knowing the archipelago of the Seychelles long before the European navigators re-discovered them. An American Consul of Mauritius, Colonel N. Pike, published in 1873, in the *Commercial Gazette* of Mauritius, articles on his visit to these islands. They were reprinted in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Mauritius* where we find this on page 7: "He (Col. Pike) assures us that he saw (*sic*) in the interior of the forests of the Seychelles Islands, Arabic characters cut on several rocks. Colonel Pike is of opinion that these characters must have been cut by Arab pirates, who probably took refuge in these islands, which served them as a landing place and as a depository for the slaves and booty captured on the eastern coast of Africa or at Madagascar."

On page 81 we read that Colonel N. Pike brought from the Seychelles a piece of wood containing the broken extremity of a blackwood arrow round which a thick layer of wood had grown, showing that it must have struck the tree (of the species called *Bois blanc*, or to naturalists as *Hernandia ovigera*, a kind of soft white wood) a great many years ago. He deposited this curious piece in the museum. The Colonel thinks that it is a relic from the same Arab pirates, or from one of their slaves from the Lupata mountains in Africa. As it was of importance to find trace of these inscriptions and possibly decipher them, we took great pains to find them and made many inquiries about them during our stay in the Seychelles in 1889 and ever since through our friends there. All our researches as well as those of our friends have been in vain. Nobody has ever been able to find the said inscriptions or give us the least information concerning them. Arabic coins, or rather Indian coins with Arabic inscriptions on them, are now and then dug from the ground in Mahé and other islands of the group. We possess a few such silver pieces, but they are all of recent fabrication and evidently imported from Bombay.

* In Vol. VI, New Series, 11th April, 1892.

Up to this day, not a single proof of these lands having been inhabited or even visited by man before 1742 has been found. On a Portuguese manuscript chart of the world drawn by Pedro Reinel in 1517, and which has been wrongly attributed to Salvat of Palestina in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris under the date of 1511, we find the Seychelles figured as a group of six islands surrounded by numerous rocks and sandbanks with the name *As sete Irmãs* (the seven sisters) a little on the west of the Amirantes; *Ilhas que achou da segunda vez o almyrante dom Vasco*, says the inscription next to these. So it appears quite possible that Vasco de Gama had also seen the Seychelles.

A Frenchman, M. Guirard, acting as Portuguese Consul at Mahé in 1892, wrote a little pamphlet on *Sept années aux Seychelles*, in which we read that Pedro de Mascarenhas, sailing from Malacca to Mauritius and Bourbon, called at Seychelles in December, 1527, or February, 1528. He infers this from the fact that on some charts of the time the group is named, besides Mauritius and Bourbon, *Ilhas Mascarenhas*. These authors fail to give us any historical proof of this supposed visit of Vasco de Gama. On the charts drawn between 1517 and 1650 we find the group designated as follows: *Sen Irmãs* in 1520,* *Las Siete Hermanas* 1529. In 1536 a Dutch chart shows the two groups of the Archipelago with these names in Portuguese: *As sete Irmanas* and *As tres Irmanas*. They are evidently the Mahé group and the Praslin group. This does not prevent the celebrated Spanish cosmographer, Alonzo de Santa Cruz, from going backwards, by drawing on his globe of 1542 only six islands with the inscription *Las 7 hermanas*. The names vary little on the maps drawn later on. We must come to the year 1688 for more complete information. On the globe of Coronelli of Venice of that date we find *Os sette Irmaos isole inhabitate*, showing that they were then still uninhabited.

We can infer from this with M. A. Grandidier† that all the cartographers from the 15th to the 17th century copied each other more or less exactly and without criticism. They followed their fancies a great deal more than they utilised new documents.

* Let us now come to the real historical discovery of the group. Towards the year 1740, if we are to believe a vague assertion quoted without

* Portulan of the Munich Library.

† Histoire de la Géographie de Madagascar. A. Grandidier, 2nd Edition, 1891, p. 40.

proof by Elie Pajot in the columns of a French journal of geography in 1876 *, a gentleman named de Saint Martin was the first to land on the Seychelles, or, as the latest chart of the time, that of Hondius 1634, called them *Les sept sœurs* and *Les trois sœurs* according to the group. He did not go there at his own will, but was thrown on the archipelago by a hurricane. As no proof has ever been given or found of this event we must consider it still as apocryphal.

In 1742 Mahé de la Bourdonnais, then Governor of the French settlement of the Isles de Tiana et de Bourbon, desirous of having some distinct knowledge about the dangers known to exist in the north-east of Madagascar on the way to India, sent two ships—the *Saint Charles*, Captain Joan Grossin, and the *Elizabeth*, Captain Lazare Picault—both belonging to the Compagnie des Indes, with orders to explore the neighbourhood of the banks then known as the Cargados, Sèche de St. Michel, Banc de Nazareth, etc.

The two good ships sailed on the 10th of August, 1742, from the Ile de France. As we have already said, we had the chance to discover in the archives of the French Naval Department the logs of these ships as well as the original charts and plans of the discoveries made by the two captains. The more interesting and better written is the log of the *Charles* or *St. Charles*, due to the pen of J. Grossin, her captain. We think it interesting to give here the first translation ever made of the part concerning the Seychelles.

It consists of a quarto volume, bound with a blue silk tape, ornamented with pen and ink sketches of three plans of Corjados, Agalega, and Jean de Nove islands, as well as a view of the Seychelles Island as seen from the ship at anchor. The log begins thus:

"*Journal of the boat Le Charles*, written by J. Grossin, having left the Ile de France in 1742, returned to this island in 1743.

"In the name of God let be made the log of navigation of the boat *Le Charles* of fifty tons register, carrying sixteen men of equipage, belonging to the gentlemen of the Indian Company, equipped by M. de la Bourdonnais, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor for the King of the Islands of France and Bourbon, and (by) the gentlemen of the superior council of the said islands, for the discovery and verification of islands and sandbanks of Cordouat, Angasay, Bank of Nazareth, Jean de Nove, and other islands and sandbanks of the neighbourhood, written by Jean Grossin, commanding the said boat, in company with the tartane, the *Elizabeth*, commanded by the Sieur Picaut."

* L'Exploration les îles Seychelles, Vol. VIII., p. 513.

After recounting how they drew the plan of the Island or Bank of Cargados in September, that of Agalega Island in October, and Jean de Nove on the 29th of the same month, he says about this last: "Covered with wood. We found there a quantity of enormous land tortoises. There are some that six men could not carry or lodge in our boat." We come to the interesting discovery of our island. It runs as follows:—

"Tuesday, 20th November, 1742.—At three o'clock after midday we had cognisance of a much elevated island lying in our N. E. quarter of North, distance of fifteen leagues. We immediately made for it in order as much to recognise it as to try to find water there." (In the margin at this place of the document we read, "seen the islands named the three Irmans or the three brothers.") "We made our route to the N.E. up to six o'clock in the evening as the wind stood for us, then steering to the S.S.W. up to midnight, when we turned to the N.E. and E.N.E. as the wind varied up to the E.S.E. with rain squalls and small breeze in order to stand by during the night, as the currents made as much noise as if we had been surrounded by breakers; yesterday at sunset the most western point (of the land) being for us to the N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. five degrees (in the) east and the eastern point to the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., the middle to the N.N.E. distance thirteen leagues. At sunrise the western points to the N.N.E., the point of the S.E. to the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N., three degrees east, and distance of twelve leagues, we discovered a big island detached from the large one, which was for us to the N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.E. During the whole of the forenoon the weather was very fine, the sea fine, with a little fresh (breeze), we took the bearings of the route and the altitude according to my calculation.

"The N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of E. five degrees North, sailed 10 l. (leagues).

"Latitude was found: South 5 d. 6 m.

"Longitude has according to Pitergost 37d. 16m.

"Longitude has according to French chart 62d. 56m.

"At noon the northernmost cape stands to me N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. E. 3 degree North nine leagues; the southernmost cape is to N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of E., distance from land eight leagues.

"According to all charts these islands are the 'three Irmans', otherwise the 'three brothers', although Pitergost marks them twenty-five minutes too much in the north; the French chart as well as the *Flambeau Anglais** marks them very well in their latitude. I have found no difference in longitude according to Pitergost.

* The English torch, a name for the English charts.

"By the French chart and the 'English torch' I would be seventy leagues in the East of the 'three brothers'; he must have marked them too far West.

"*Wednesday, 21st November.*—Since yesterday noon the winds continued variable from South to S. E.; very little fresh breeze, the sea fine, the weather fine; we steered from N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of E. to N. E. Yesterday at two o'clock in the afternoon we sounded and found fine sand at thirty-seven fathoms depth; at half past six in the evening, distance five leagues from the Island, we anchored in thirty-five fathoms of water, with fine sand at the bottom, in order to pass the night. Remained there all the afternoon. At five o'clock this morning we set sail with winds to S. E., little wind, steering from the N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of E. to N. E. in order to approach the Island and pass under the wind of it, but had knowledge in its S. W. part of very fine coves or bays, where we entered and anchored at one o'clock in the afternoon in twenty fathoms of water, fine sand at the bottom, at one-fourth of a league from land; the *Elizabeth* came to anchor near (us) at three o'clock in the afternoon. The route since yesterday to the anchorage gave me:

"N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. sailed 9 L. (Here the log has in the margin "anchored at the three Irmans or the three brothers.")

"Latitude has estimated South 4d. 45m.

"Longitude has according to Pitergost 87d. 30m.

"Longitude has according to the French chart 63d. 10m.

"Being anchored, the South cape of the bay, where we are, lies to me in the S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. 5 degree South $\frac{1}{2}$ league. The North cape to the N. O. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. two leagues.

"*Thursday, 22nd November.*—Yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, after having cast our two anchors, we launched our two long boats in order to recognise the Island and find fresh water. On landing we found some crocodiles, a proof that water exists. We found the sea-shore covered with cocoanut trees and wooded country with trees high and very straight; we found brackish water and in consequence we went further South where we found good water.

"*Friday, 23rd November.*—This morning, having landed, we penetrated the interior of the Island, where we found much game (doves, blackbirds, parrots and many other kinds of birds) and very fine country. The islands of the 'three brothers' are as elevated and as wooded as the Isle of France. But the wood is much straighter than at Isle of France, and one could find there fine masts for vessels. There is a quantity of sea turtle, but they are small, being all *carets*

(tortoise shell); there is also land tortoise but not in such quantity. The island where we anchored is the most Southern, it is only six leagues S. E. & N. W. We could not go round it or make its plan as it would have hampered us too much; the season being too far advanced we are in a hurry to arrive in Rodrigues to load tortoises, and we have to arrive at the Isle of France before the 15th of January, having besides to recognise St. Brandon, which will be more advantageous for the Isle of France if land tortoises are found there.

"Monday, 26th November.—Yesterday evening having (taken) our water and wood, and embarked some land tortoises and cocoanuts, we sailed this morning at five o'clock with a little fresh (wind) from the land; at seven o'clock it came to a dead calm, and the flood carrying us on some rocks, which are at the south cape, we were obliged to anchor again by twenty fathoms, sand and gravel bottom. All day the winds blew from the West with quantity of rain.

"Tuesday, 27th November.—This morning at five o'clock we sailed with small breeze."

The remainder of the log is of no more importance to our object. The whole is without signature, as usual then, and written with many mistakes both of grammar and orthography, which it would be impossible to translate even in broken sailor's English. Still it is in a good deal better hand and better style than the one of the captain of the *Elizabeth*, Lazare Picault. The author, Jean Grossin, sometimes called Grossen by the historian of the day, had evidently a better education than his colleague; he belonged to the merchant navy and is known as the author of an early manuscript map of Madagascar, dated 30th of September, 1732.

The journal of Lazare Picault, whose name we found spelt as also Picaut or even Lasart Picot on the first plan of the Archipelago drawn by him in 1744, differs in some parts from the one of Jean Grossin; so we think it useful to give here also the first translation ever made of this little known document.

For the other boat, the Tartane *L'Elizabeth*, we found in the archives of the Hydrographical Department two different diaries or logs; as neither of them is signed it is difficult to say by whom they were made. One of them, however, of folio size and 24 written pages, must be the one written by the Captain Lazare Picaut himself as his name is mentioned in the title. It has in the margins a few annotations in completing it and by another hand, most likely that of the first or second officer. The second log, more complete than the first,

contains 17 leaves, of which 10 only are written on; it is of quarto size.

Considering the importance of these still unknown documents and the fact that they complete each other, belonging to the same ship, we think that it is worth while to give them both alongside of each other for the sake of comparison.

LOG OF NAVIGATION OF THE TARTANE 'ELIZABETH.'

In 1742 with the boat *Le Charle*, by Lazare Picaud, going to discovery.

Left Isle of France near Cargados, the Island named *Sansfond*, that of Jean de Nove, that of Three Brothers and Malgache.

From the 19th to 20th November, 1742, coming from Jean de Nova to the Isle of France. Yesterday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon seen a large Island, looked to us important from N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. to N. N. E. 5d. N. 11 to 13 leagues, very high and can be seen from 15 to 18 leagues, lat. 5d. 18; made signal to *Le Charle* (which) answered us. We came nearer and agreed to search for an anchorage in order to see what was upon it. According to the English torch, *Le Flambeau Anglais*, a kind of nautical guide or rather a chart, they are the Three Brothers, and according to Pitergoos the Three Brothers are 9 L. more to the north; we do not know whom to believe, it is true it is an Island (sic).

At this place the log has on the margin, in another handwriting, the following:—

"At 3 o'clock seen the Three Brothers, a considerable island. At 12 the Isle Ronde N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E., 6 to 7 L.

"The western point of the Three Brothers N. N. E.—S S. E. 6 to 7 L.

"The eastern point to the N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E., 6 to 7 L. The middle of the island, which appears to us as the harbour, N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 6 L.

"The currents are terrible and this is the reason why the bearings are not correct. The middle of the island where the harbour must be. Lat. South 4d. 49—Long. St. Sebastian 89d. 13. Long. arrived at 88° 25."

The log continues then as follows:—

At 6 in the evening the most eastern point is to N. N. E. 6 to 7 leagues, the most western point is to N. 8d. E.

During the night pushed on southern tack waiting for daylight in order to go and look for an anchorage.

To-day at 6 o'clock in the morning the most eastern point to N. E. 6 to 7 L. Another Round island hacked (*hachée*) to N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E. 8 to 9 L. The new island is in the west of the large one 1 to 2 L. (about).

JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF THE TARTANE 'ELIZABETH.'

For the discovery of the islands situated in the North-East of Madagascar in 1742* :—

11 August 1742 to 10 January 1743.

Monday 19th (of November).—Winds from S. E. to S. and calms.

Seen quantity of birds and tide-lilies; I believe that the currents bear West, because the variation increases instead of diminishing.

Route by 2° Var'on, E. N. E. 1d. N.—6 Leagues $\frac{1}{2}$.

Tuesday, 20th.—Winds from the South to the E. S. E. † Yesterday at 3 o'clock in the evening seen the land (an island) in the N. N. E. and N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. from us distant from 10 to 11 leagues.

Latitude at the first sight . . . 5d. 18: 88d. 14 (longitude). It is very high and appeared to us considerable, being seen from 15 to 18 L. I believe that they are the Three Brothers, although according to the variation they ought to be the Amirantes. Towards 6 o'clock in the evening I took the bearings of the most eastern (point) to the N. N. E. 6 to 7 L.

The most western to N. 5d. East same distance. During the night we ran to the S. W. until midnight, then returned to the East until 6 o'clock, when we saw another island to the N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E. 7 to 8 L., having then the most eastern one of yesterday evening to the N. E. 6 to 7 L. and the most western one to N. N. E. 5d. North 6 to 7 L.

I perceive by the bearings that the currents carry us in the West.

The new island is in the West of the first one 1 or 2 I (distant). It is round and hacked. The first one is hacked and has some white spots in the southern part.

* Marked M 1 & 23rd division No. 2 of the box of the archives of the Hydrographical Department of the French Navy.

† In the margin differences in latitude Var'on N. O. 0 case 12d 40.

I ascertained that the currents have borne us to S. W. Route from this place to N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 2d E. 12 L. 10, corrected to N. E.

Latitude estimated $4^{\circ} 53'$, observed $5^{\circ} 5'$. Longitude East is $89^{\circ} 6'$, arrived at $88^{\circ} 18'$.

From the 20th to the 21st.

"Yesterday at 3 o'clock in the afternoon taken depth 30 fathom to 35, gravel and small red coral from 4 to 5 L. in the S. S. W. of Three Brothers, good for anchoring, made signal of depth to Le Charle. The winds continue very small to S. E. We steered from N. E.—N. N. E. to N. E. 3d. E. 2 L. 3 up to half-past seven in the evening, anchored on the bank by 30 fathoms; ground of sand very good at 2 to 3 leagues in the south of Three Brothers. The night is very fine."

On the margin at this place we read :—

"At noon the harbour N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 1 L. $\frac{1}{2}$.

"At 3 o'clock anchored 22 f. Variation W. N. W. 13d. I believe that the Three Brothers are another (island) of the bank, and that it has a depth from 10 to 11 L. all round."

The log continues as follows :—

"To-day at half-past five in the morning sailed, the wind very small to S. S. E., the currents carry to S. W. with violence, steered from E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. E. to N. E. 3 L. $\frac{1}{2}$. At noon the middle of the island where the harbour is to N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 1 L. $\frac{1}{2}$, and we ought to have been on the land; that shows that the currents carry to the South and West and that the bearings cannot be found equal.

The eastern part of the island is to E. S. E. 5d. E. 2 L.

The western part, where there is a small isle, N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W. 3 L.

The Round island which appears hacked N. N. O. 3 L. 4.

From yesterday noon to this day noon route made to N. E. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.; 7 L. 40. Latitude estimated $4^{\circ} 47'$. Longitude St. Sebastian.* $89^{\circ} 21'$, by sight $88^{\circ} 33'$.

However, as it is said elsewhere, I reckon that the island must be situated in Latitude South $4^{\circ} 49'$.

The harbour being in the South W. of the island in the middle could be made by steering E. and W. by $4^{\circ} 40'$, where it must be according to the latitude of the middle of the island.

* From Cape St. Sebastian in Madagascar.

Route by 2d. C'ion (correction) N. E. 5d E. 9 L. $\frac{1}{2}$. Latitude observed $5^{\circ} 5'$.—Longitude $88^{\circ} 18'$. The currents carry towards the W. S. W., we ought to have been on land according to the route we have made.

At twelve o'clock I have taken the bearings of the most western point of the first island by N. N. E. 5d. N. 6 to 7 L.

The most eastern by N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. same distance. The second island discovered is N. N. E. idem. The middle of the large island where the Port St. Lazare must be, according to our observations at twelve, by the latitude of $4^{\circ} 49'$ and $88^{\circ} 25'$ longitude followed from Mauritius.†

We would have found bottom if we had sounded.

One can make out the islands coming from the East or West by $4^{\circ} 40'$ of latitude, which would be the middle of the lands which lay from North to South.

Wednesday, 21st.—Yesterday during the day, somewhat fresh from S. E. sailed to N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E., in order to try to come nearer to the land. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon taken soundings. For the first time found bottom 35 fathoms, sand, gravel and coral in the S. S. W. of the first island 4 L. The winds have continued to be fresh, sailed from N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. to N. E., having the same bottom until half past seven in the evening. Anchored by 30 fms bottom of sand at 2 leagues in the South of the first island.† At 5 o'clock in the morning sailed, the winds from S. S. E. to S. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. little fresh. sailed from E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. E. to N. E. in order to find a good anchorage. Route estimated N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 1d. East 7 L. $\frac{3}{4}$. Latitude $4^{\circ} 47'$, longitude $88^{\circ} 33'$.

I took the bearings of the middle of the first island where appears a large bay to N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. 1 L. $\frac{1}{2}$. The eastern point to E. S. E. 5d. East 2 L. The western point where is found a small islet to N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. W. 2 L.

The other island by the middle to N. N. W.—3 L. By our estimated latitude we ought to be on land.

The currents make us lose part of our way.

* In the margin: Difference in latitude more south by height 12 m.

† In the margin: "This first latitude is the one of the southern part."

† Here we read in the margin: "Passed the night at anchor. The currents carry always westwards."

Afternoon the wind very small from S. W. to S. E. steered from N. E. to N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. 1 L. $\frac{1}{2}$ until 3 o'clock in the afternoon; we anchored at the Three Brothers 22 fathoms sand ground on two anchors N. & S.

Bearings of the anchorage as follows :—

Round island to N.W. 5d. N. 4 to 5 L.

Two big islands to the Western point. 2L

The middle of the bay 4L

where we are, E.N.E. 4L

The bay (in sight ?) to N. 4L

The most southern point $\frac{1}{2}$ S. W. 4L

Another small islet or rock to South 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ L

Halt at the Three Brothers on the 21st. On the said day we landed, armed as usual, found nobody upon it; neither did we ever find an appearance of any people having been (there). One can name it *L'Isle d'abondance*. Many cocoanut trees bearing fruit on the seashore, land or sea tortoises not many, wood and water in abundance; there are trees which are of good use to make masts for any kind of ship and specially for a vessel which would find herself towards these parts. It could be repaired without risks and could even be careened.

It is a pity that this island is not from 15 to 20d. on the way of India. One could build there houses. The place appeared to us good. The rains are frequent, specially on the top of the mountains; the dew is very abundant. The island is also rich in fish.

During our stay we took water and wood, 600 cocoanuts and 33 land tortoises. There are also crocodiles. We had all kinds of winds, small breeze from the West comes into the harbour. If it blew strong the sea would be rough, otherwise one is there safe from any wind.

(On the margin we read: "On the 21st anchored at 3 o'clock in the evening. On the 27th left at 5 o'clock in the morning. I correct nothing").

On the 17th at 5 o'clock in the morning sailed from Three Brothers, *Isle d'abondance*. The small land breeze from N. E. very small till 8 o'clock. The long boat takes us in tow and steered from S.W., N.W. to west. Then the wind veered to the South. Sailed from S. to S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. E. until noon. Taken the bearings of Port St. Lazare, where we come.

Next afternoon the winds from S. W. to S. E. by South. Steered from N. E. to N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, anchored in the harbour to the south of the first island by 22 Fms. good bottom of fine sand and gravel, anchors North and South in order to be safe against the winds from West which would send us ashore.

There is no sign that the currents are very violent; although the trees are all on the seashore, only one had been uprooted and it appears that it fell down from old age.

Bearings of the anchorage by the compass. The second island seen to N. W. 5d. N. 3 to 4 L. Two large islets, which are to the western part of the island where we are anchored, in the West 2 L.

The middle of the bay where we are anchored to the E. N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of L.

The bay with the river to the North and one-fourth of a league. A rock over water to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a league.

Remarks on the island where we are :—

Remained here from the 21st to the 27th November. This island may be 15 to 20 leagues round, there is abundance of water, of wood good for masts in case of need for large vessels. If in need one could find convenient place for careening, the ground being suitable for it (*très arboré*). There is found land and sea tortoise and *carap* (tortoise shell), many cocoanut-trees, and palm trees, etc., by which the island is fringed all sorts of birds, doves, flying bats, and guinea fowls, grey parrots are quite common, quantity of marine game and of crocodiles; the country is mountainous and well wooded, full of waterfalls and rivers well stocked with fish. There are gorges where the ground appears very fertile. We went about one good league in the country without having found any trace of dangerous beasts; we took water, wood and wood-tortoises for our use during the voyage; they are only of ordinary size.

Tuesday, 27th.—Sailed from the Three Brothers or Almirantes with little wind from N. E. and made route to W. N. W. to W. to get out of harbour. The winds veered to N. N. W. sailed S. to S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. E. until noon, when I saw harbour St. Lazare to N. N. E. The eastern point distant 2 leagues in the East. According to the latitude of the harbour 4d. 49 latitude, latitude by bearing 4d. 53, longitude 88d. 24:

From these two extremely interesting documents, it appears that the island which we now call Mahé was, to our knowledge, astronomically placed on the charts on the 19th of November by Lazare Picaut assisted by Jean Grossin—on board the *St. Charles* and the *Elizabeth*. They remained at anchor in a bay to the south-west, which they called Port St. Lazare from the name of the chief captain, a name it retains still, being known to this day as Baie Lazare. They give us the first description of the island which they believed, with reason, to be one of the Three Brothers of the charts, although they had some doubts of its being one of the Amirantes. In any case, Lazare Picaut baptized it *l'Isle d'Abondance*. He drew a pen-and-ink perspective plan of the harbour, which we find in his log with this note in the corner: "Plan of the side of the place where we were anchored at the Three Brothers, situated by latitude South of 4d. 45m. Taken by compass. Discovered by the boats *Le Charles* and *l'Elizabeth*, 1742." The three islands seen to the N. W. are named on it: Isle Ronde, Isle St. Pierre, Isle St. François. To the S. E. we note *l'Isle aux chauve-souris*, a small islet a little distance from the anchorage of the two boats, which is, according to custom, indicated by anchors and the inscriptions: "Mouillage de la Tartane l'Elizabeth; mouillage du St. Charle". On the main land shown in elevation we note the vegetation showing palm trees and the following inscriptions from North to South: *Gros Rocher blanc*; *Plaine aux cocotiers*, *Rivière au Kémant* (caïman); *Endroit nous avons fait beau, et Rocher au tortue* (sic). The discoverers stayed there from the 26th to the 27th of November, then returned to the Isle of France.

From another log, discovered by us in the same box, at the Hydrographical Department in Paris, it appears that the Governor of the Isle de France and Bourbon, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, desirous to know more about these islands, sent there again Lazare Picault in 1743-1744.

This document is a large quarto marked Cotte M. No. 81, 23rd. division No. 24. It is entitled, "*Extract from the Diary of a Voyage from the Isle de France to Amirantes*, by Lre. Picault, in the Tartane of the Indian Company of France, *l'Elizabeth*." He left the Isle de France on the 7th of December, 1743, at 3 o'clock in the morning.

On the 16th of April he was at 8 leagues in the West of the Three Brothers or Amirantes.

On the 28th of May he anchored at $\frac{1}{2}$ league from l'Isle à Frégatte (now l'Isle aux Frégattes) and he wrote: "This island must have one league of circumference and is fringed with breakers (*recifs*)."
A

strong sea prevented him from landing on that day. He adds: "The sea turtle climb on this island."

He writes then: "The 'most southern point of an island, the old Three Brothers, is W. S. W. 50 leagues (distance). The other islands to the number of 12 from W. S. W. to S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. — S. W. — N. W. 40; and one 8 leagues distance." At 6 o'clock in the morning of the 29th of May he sailed to go and anchor near this island, which he calls "the former Three Brothers." On the 30th May he looks for a harbour and anchors at 10 o'clock on a sand bottom, in a large bay, formed by eleven islands, all fringed by rocks. "The harbour is protected from all winds, except those from N. N. W., that come in straight. But as this harbour has three entrances, and consequently three exits, one can leave it by any wind and one can be *engagé* (thrown on the side?). It stands by 4d. 40 of latitude S. and by 69d. 5 of longitude by estimation, but by variation (? *occase*) observed of 12d. in this port, it must be situated between 77d. and 79d. of longitude."* The tides are at 4 o'clock, and the difference of level reaches from 7 to 8 feet. Lazare Picault records then the following note on his stay on these islands from the 30th of May to the 15th of June, 1844:—

"There are found springs and ravines where one can make one's provision of fresh water; one can also obtain firewood and land tortoises which are in good numbers. In the harbour there are 10, 15, 20, 25, 26, and 30 fathoms of water, according to the plan. He visited all the islands and crossed over a part of them. All are mountainous, and establishments could be made in all. The ground is a reddish fertile earth. Trees 70 feet high are found with 15 feet of circumference. Water is found everywhere. The mountains are of earth, and plains are on the summits. It is a country for sugar.

"One could build about 300 fine houses in the whole of the island, and it appears that alimentary plants would grow well. In some places there are marshes for rice.

"The large island is from 18 to 20 leagues round, the others range between 12 and 14 leagues to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a league. The small ones are more numerous than the large ones, but all are as good as one another. Land tortoises are on all these islands in proportion to their size, but they are difficult of access, on account of the necessity of going to search for them in the mountains and in the forests, and they are furthermore not in such

*In another copy of this diary (in No. 23 of the same Hydrographical Office) we read in the margin from another hand: "Mr. Morphey, in 1756, after a more exact observation, found that this harbour was 4°34' that is, 6' more to the North."

numbers as to make it worth while to organize a maritime expedition to go and find them. One must also consider the length of the sea voyage one must undertake. It would be practicable only for vessels able to call and stay a few days.

"One can also find sea turtles, but in small numbers. There are also flying bats useful at the beginning of a settlement; the islands are also rich in fish. There are numerous crocodiles (*cayements*).

"On the 9th of June, at 8 o'clock in the morning, he sailed in order to visit the western part of the main island (Mahé). He mentions also the Round Island, so named from its shape. It could be utilised for a settlement. It measures about 4 leagues in circumference. On this day, the midday observations gave him Latitude South 4d. 37m., Longitude 68d. 54m. He went on shore and walked 3 leagues over the ground. On this part of the Island he found the same things as in the other (part), but he saw besides a splendid lake.

"On the 10th at six o'clock in the morning he sailed from the large island for the Isle de Palme (which he visited).

"At 4 o'clock in the evening having made about 9 L. $\frac{1}{3}$ anchored at Isle de Palme, having sounded all the way and found 25, 35 and 20 fathoms. On this last sounding cast anchor at 4 o'clock.

"The Port Royal from which he sailed to the island of the Three Brothers being S. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. 2d. South 9 to 10 L.

"Visited Isle de Palme and Isle Rouge.

"The Isle de Palme is so named because it has many palm trees and fan palms (*lataniers*) bearing cotton wool; and Isle Rouge named so because in the middle is a mountain of which the earth is red.

"The Isle de Palme where he landed on the 12th (June) must have 12 L. of circumference; rivers and waterfalls everywhere watering magnificent plains. It is not so mountainous as the large island; there are fine trees and some land tortoises.

"It is more convenient for inhabiting than the large island on account of the plains. The sea turtle also climbs on it. These islands are to the number of 36.

"On the 14th of June, at 4 o'clock in the morning, sailed for the coast of Malabar." He returned to the Isle of France.

Further on, in the same copy, we find notes for the voyage from the Isle of France to Mahé in India, 12d. north in the Lacquedives. He left on the 14th September 1746. He does not appear to have called again at the Seychelles.

During his second stay in the Seychelles, Lazare Picault made

numerous observations which afforded him the data necessary for the first chart we possess of this Archipelago, and which we found in the archives of the Hydrographical Department of the French Navy in Paris, amongst a number of charts and plans of the same group drawn at different dates from 1742 to 1776.

The first and most important document of this valuable collection is the very plan evidently drawn by Lazare Picault, although according to the custom of the epoch it does not bear his signature. It has, however, this inscription in a corner: "*Plan of the Isles de Labourdonnais drawn from observations made on shore and on land in May 1744 by Lasart Picot (sic), Captain of the Tartane l'Elizabeth.*" It shows that the worthy captain then changed the name of *Isle d'Abondance* into the *Isle Mahé*, after the name of his superior and patron, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, given to the whole Archipelago. We find on this chart l'*Isle Mahée (sic)*, *Isle de la Palme* (later on named Praslin from a celebrated Minister of the Navy) and 36 islands, rocks, and sand banks without name. The scale is one marine league to one inch. On this plan we find marked by an anchor the places where he anchored in 1742 (at Port Lazare) and in 1744 at Port Royal (now Port Victoria), this last by 4d. 40m. Lat. S. and 77° Long. E. according to landing of 1st July on the Coast of Malabar.

In the year 1756 M. Magon, Governor of the Mascarene Islands, desirous of obtaining a better knowledge of the islands of the Seychelles, sent there the flich *Le Cerf* and the goëlette *Le Saint Benoist* under the command of M. Morphey, who took possession of the groups in the name of the King of France in order to obtain wood from the islands. He left as a monument of this a stone pillar bearing in high relief the arms of France with an inscription. It is still to be seen on the island in the garden of the Governor. He discovered to the E.S.S.E. of Praslin the Ile Annonciation (since called *Frégatte*) on the 26th May 1757.

In 1768 M. Marion Dufresne sent from the Isle de France the two boats *La Digue* and *La Curieuse* having respectively for captains M. Duchemin and M. Lemperière, in order to get wood for the naval constructions from the Archipelago. They discovered *Isle Plate* and took possession of Praslin in the name of the King, leaving a monument on the coast to commemorate this event. It was not until 1770 that *Isle Silhouette* was visited by an officer of the *Etoile du Matin*, Captain d'Herie. The log says:—

"The Silhouette island has the size given on the plan of it (there drawn for the first time). The ground is very good and even better than

that of Seychelles.* He (the officer) dug the ground in different places and found the rock 8 inches (deep). This island has a greater abundance of sea turtle than the others. It is surrounded by shoals of sharks and *caimans* (crocodiles). The former are so voracious that they prevented the sailors of the boat from using their oars on account of the avidity with which they bit them. The water has a better taste than at Seychelles; the woods are of the same kind but inferior (in quality). Of insects he saw only a large kind of brown caterpillar. He found swarms of flies (*mouches*) and ants. This island has many coves of sand fringed with cocoanut trees, where one can land and opposite which there is anchorage for the vessels."

On the 10th he sent an officer to recognise the neighbouring islands. On the Isle Praslin he gathered a quantity of *soa cocoanuts*, the fruit of the rare and curious palm known to naturalists by the name of *Lodoicea Seychellarum*, which seems to have been discovered by Marion Dufresne on Isle Praslin in 1769, unless it had already been seen by Lazare Picault when he visited the island for the first time in 1744 and called it probably, on account of their wonderful palm, *Isle de la Palme*. These trees, if he met any, must indeed have attracted his attention, being really extraordinary in their height, which attains to 120 feet, and the palms, the largest known measuring 42 feet in length and 15 feet in diameter, the crown being made of some 18 to 20 of these monster fans, whose weight is sometimes 100 pounds. The fruit is still more extraordinary: outside it looks like a monster green egg. We possess one measuring two feet in length and one foot in breadth, its weight when fresh was 50 pounds. Some have been found weighing as much as 60 pounds. It takes from seven to ten years to come to maturity, and one or two years to germinate when fallen on the damp ground. The nut has a curious bilobed shape. These kings of the vegetable kingdom, the *cocos de mer*, or more scientifically *Lodoicea Seychellarum*, have never been found anywhere else, and up to this day exist only in the two islands of the group known as Praslin and Curieuse. A few have been imported in Mahé, Mauritius, Réunion and Ceylon, but they have never borne fruit yet out of the Seychelles.

The fruit, before the discovery, was sometimes found on the seashore of the islands eastwards of the Archipelago, where it was borne by the sea currents and held as a wonderful remedy under the name of

* This name was given in 1756 after Moreau de Séchelles, Comptroller of French finances, and not, as according to others, after a captain of the Indian Company.

coco des maldives, sea cocoanut, etc. It fetched its weight in gold, and Rumphius tells us that the German Emperor, Rodolphe, failed to procure one of these Salomon's cocoanuts, as they were also called, although he offered 4,000 florins for it. In 1769 Captain Duchemin saw these fruits in Praslin, and expecting to make a fortune by their sale in India, he took quite a full cargo of them on the *Heureuse Marie*. But on account of the very number, these fruits were no longer a rare thing; the secret of their origin was discovered, everybody went to Praslin to load them, and the price fell so low that one can to-day buy a good specimen for from three to four rupets. As to their use in medicine, it is now a thing of the past, their wonderful curing properties having been recognised as a myth.

A few more of the smaller islands of the Seychelles group were discovered now and then by the French navigators. The *Isle Moras*, now *Ile Aride*, was marked on the chart in 1756 as well as the *Ile aux Vaches Marines*.

In 1769 a celebrated astronomer, l'Abbé A. Rochon, called at Mahé and fixed the situation of Port Royal, now Victoria harbour, by a series of good observations. He found Longitude E $53^{\circ}13'$ and Latitude S. $4^{\circ}37'15''$. He was on board *l'Heure du Berger*. In 1771 M. de la Biolliere, Captain of the *Etoile du Matin*, drew a new chart of the Archipelagos of the Amfrantes and Seychelles. On this map the Mahé island is for the first time marked *Ile Seychelles*, so called by Morphey in 1756 in honour of Jean Moreau de Séchelles, then General Comptroller of the French finances. This name we have often found written in eight different ways, viz., Seychelles, Séchelles, Seichelles, Sechelles, Secichelles, Sécheyles, and in the singular Seychelle and at last Sécheyle. The real orthography is Séchelles, but in official documents it is now always printed Seychelles, which seems to have been adopted by all serious geographers as well as functionaries,

In 1773 M. Denis de Trobriants, commanding *l'Etoile*, discovered the *Ile Denis*, which he baptized after his own name, and drew the first plan of it. We have also found the original description of this island in the log of the *Etoile*. After having given all the hydrographical peculiarities, the author says:—The island is $\frac{1}{3}$ of a league in breadth; the soil appeared excellent; we found in the middle a black loam full of roots and covered with leaves; it measures no less than one foot in thickness. Parts of the islands are traversed by a kind of pasture lands of which the grass appears very good. In some other small parts the soil is dry earth mixed with sand. About one-half of the island is covered by

pretty big trees whose wood is unhappily too soft to be of use for naval construction. The coast appeared fertile with coral of a very fine red colour.* There is abundance of fish, and the island is generally rich in land and sea tortoises, sea crows and birds of which some species were unknown to those of us who had made rare voyages. These birds were so little accustomed to the sight of men that we caught a great number in the trees and killed as many as we wished with sticks. The only essential thing which appeared to us missing was fresh water, but the prodigious multitude of birds of all kinds with which it abounds and the quality of the soil persuade us that if none is seen, it could be found by digging a few feet in the ground. We found on this island no sign whatever that men had landed there. In consequence we took possession of it in the name of the King of France by flying his flag and setting up a wooden post bearing his arms, at the foot of which we buried a bottle containing a record of the following facts: taking possession under the name of Isle Denis under the Ministry of M. de Boine; the name of the ship (*l'Etoile*); the names (of the officers) of his staff; the date of discovery (11th August, 1773), with Longitude 53d. 27m. E. and Latitude 3d. 49m. S.

With the discovery of the *Ile Coetivy* made on the 6th June, 1788 by the Captain of that name on board *l'Hirondelle* sailing from Isle of France to Pondicherry, we close this history of the discovery of the Seychelles Islands, whose importance as containing a naval depot for coal and a port of call has been increased by the laying through them, a few years ago, of the submarine telegraph line between Europe and Mauritius passing by the Red Sea and Zanzibar.

A. A. FAUVEL.

*It is not the real precious coral, *Corallium rubrum*, but an ordinary and valueless kind, the organ pipe coral, *Tubipora musica*.

AKBAR THE GREAT AS A SOCIAL REFORMER.

AMONG the sayings of Akbar, preserved by his devoted follower Abul Fazl in the fifth book of the monumental work "*Ain-i-Akbari*," we come across the following remarkable utterances:—

"Early marriage is displeasing to God ; for, while the desired consummation is still remote, there is proximate danger ; and among people who are ruled by laws that forbid the re-marriage of women the hardship is very great."

"To seek more than one wife is to hasten one's own ruin. In case she were barren or bore no son, it might be expedient."

"The women of Hindustan set very little value on their invaluable lives."

"An ancient custom of Hindustan is, a woman, however terrified she may be, throws herself into the fire on the death of her husband, and believing it to be a means of salvation for her husband, sacrifices her dear life with a cheerful countenance. Strange is the valour of men who seek deliverance through the self-sacrifice of women !" *

Like Cæsar and Charlemagne, Akbar was born for universal innovation. But what raises Akbar still higher, and makes him a prophet among kings and the king of our modern prophets, is the originality and grandeur of his schemes of reform conceived for the regeneration of India. Author of a system of absolutism the most enlightened and the most benevolent ever known, the most radical religious and social reformers of our day must gratefully acknowledge him as the first and foremost of their illustrious forerunners. Unsurpassed in his love of rationalism, Akbar surpasses even the noblest of his contemporary European monarchs in sincere devotion and constancy. When William the Silent exchanged Catholicism for Lutheranism, and Lutheranism for Calvinism, without any great hesitation, and when Henry of Navarre frankly declared Paris "worth a mass," Akbar fearlessly repudiated

* "*Ain-i-Akbari*," (Text : *Bibliothica Indica*), Vol. II, pp. 242-3.

the bigoted side of Islam in the prime of manhood, and stuck to his new faith to the last moment of his life.*

And Akbar cannot be said to have lived and worked in vain. Although his dynasty has been swept away, his Indian Empire still lives, and his master hand is traceable in the lines of policy followed by his British successors. Although his religious tenets were too philosophical to be accepted in his own generation, they are now professed, in slightly modified forms, by many of the most cultured men of our age, and inspired one of the greatest of modern European poets to compose two of his most enchanting lyrics in the last days of his life.† Unfortunately for India, the realisation of Akbar's social dreams are still very remote.

Prompted alike by humanity and political instinct, Akbar conceived and endeavoured to introduce certain social measures of supreme beneficence. They were in the nature of cautious experiments, and were discontinued immediately after his death. But they were experiments of unique importance, being the only ones known to our past history, and they teemed with invaluable lessons for the guidance of our rulers and for leaders of social movements. I therefore propose, in this paper, to put together all that can be gathered regarding Akbar's social regulations from the works of contemporary historians.

Akbar's programme of social reform comprised the following important measures:—

1. Amalgamation of races.
2. Abolition of child marriage.
3. Abolition of polygamy.
4. Abolition of widow-burning.
5. Introduction of the re-marriage of Hindu widows.

1. Akbar very early conceived the idea of promoting the gradual amalgamation of Hindus and Muhammadans. In 1562, when

* The story that Akbar died a Musalman and 'repented' on his death-bed, is a pure myth. The most authentic account of the religious views of Akbar in his later years is to be found in the letters of the Jesuit Fathers who attended the Mughal court. In a letter written from Lahore dated 12th August, 1605, (two months before Akbar's death) Father Pinheiro writes that he heard Qulij Khan, the Viceroy of Lahore, call Akbar "an unbelieving Cafar" (Kafir). The Provincial head of the Jesuit Mission of Goa gives the following account of the last moment of Akbar in his report of 20th December, 1607:—"When the Emperor was in his last agonies, the Muhammadans bade him think of Muhammad, whereon he gave no sign save that he repeated the name of God."—E. D. MacLagan—"Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar," in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, Part I, No. 1, 1896.

† Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream" and "Hymn to the Sun" published posthumously.

only twenty years old, he married the daughter of Rajah Bihari Ma of Ambar. One great object, besides winning over the powerful Rajput house, which led the young Emperor to take this step, was to encourage inter-marriage between the hostile races. Such marriages were not altogether unknown in the past. But they were forced marriages, and the Hindu bride invariably embraced Islam. Akbar, then an orthodox Musalman, by allowing his Hindu wives to retain their faith and perform religious ceremonies within the harem, set a conspicuous example of free social intercourse without changing religion. But his example was not imitated outside the four walls of the Imperial household, and thus an institution which, if it had found votaries among the nobility of the empire, might have reorganised our social structure, failed of its effects.

To further the same cause in an indirect way, Akbar, in 1594, promulgated certain regulations providing for the re-admission to Hinduism of a certain class of Musalman converts :—

“If a Hindu, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Musalman against his will, he was to be allowed, if he pleased, to go back to the religion of his fathers.

“If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Musalman and changed her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and given back to her family.” * *

A third means adopted by Akbar to eradicate racial prejudices was the propagation of his new religion, the Divine Monotheism, among the Hindus. We learn from the hostile but candid account of the historian Badaoni that with Akbar the repudiation of Islam and the promulgation of a new faith was a matter of sincere conviction. But after the inauguration of the new religion, Akbar, with his clear vision and lofty social aims, at once perceived that while Islam without bigotry put no obstacle to the amalgamation of races, the adoption of his new religion would remove the social barriers that hedge round and isolate a Hindu, Akbar, therefore, in spite of his fastidiousness in choosing disciples, was partial to Hindu novices. Badaoni writes :—

“The real object of those who became disciples was to get into office; and though his Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted differently in the case of Hindus, of whom he could”

* Badaoni's “*Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*,” Vol. II.

These and other extracts from Badaoni and Abul Fazl have been taken from the English translation of their works by Lowe and Blochmann, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

not get enough. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, his Majesty reproved or punished them."

Among the Hindu grandees of Akbar's court no one embraced his religion with the exception of Raja Bir Bal, who is severely censured by the orthodox Musalman writers for leading the Emperor astray. Raja Bhagabandas of Ambar and his valiant son Raja Man Singh openly rebuked Akbar for suggesting the adoption of Divine Monotheism. But among the "many thousands, men of all classes," mentioned by Abul Fazl, who adopted Akbar's New Dispensation, there must have been many Hindus who silently reverted to the old rut on the death of their august spiritual guide.

2. I have already reproduced Akbar's own version of the arguments that led him to disapprove child marriage. Abul Fazl, in the *Ain-i-Akbari* regarding marriages (Book II., 24.) writes: "He (Akbar) abhors marriages which take place between man and woman before the age of puberty. They bring forth no fruits, and his Majesty thinks them even hurtful." A regulation, fixing the minimum age, was issued in 1584:—

"Girls before the age of fourteen, and boys before sixteen, were not to marry."

To ensure its observance it was further enacted that the consent of the bride and the bridegroom was necessary to validate a marriage contract. "Here in India," writes Abul Fazl, "where a man cannot see the woman to whom he is betrothed, there are peculiar obstacles; but his Majesty maintains that the consent of the bride and the bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, are absolutely necessary in marriage contracts."

Akbar made elaborate arrangements for the enforcement of these regulations. Officers were appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the bride and the bridegroom of the upper classes. "He [the Emperor] has appointed two sober and sensible men, one of whom enquires into the circumstances of the bridegroom, and the other into those of the bride. These two officers have the title of *Tuibegi* or masters of marriages. In many cases the duties are performed by one and the same officer." The Kotwal or the Chief of Police was entrusted with the duties of the *Tuibegi* for the common people. "No son and daughter," writes Badaoni, "of the common people was to be married until they had gone to the office of the Kotwal, and been seen by his agents, and the correct age of both parties had been investigated. In this way a host of profits and perquisites surpassing all

computation, guess or imagination, found their way into the pockets of those in office, especially certain police officers, and petty khans, and other vile persons."

It is evident from this observation of the historian that Akbar's regulations against child marriage opened a new channel for official corruption, though probably it was only a matter of a few *tankas* to procure the requisite age certificate. And considering the standard of official morality of the age, and the suicidal and unreasoning conservatism of a people whose descendants, three centuries later, and after more than half a century of European education, raised such an outcry against the passing of a milder measure, the Age of Consent Bill of 1890, there is nothing in it to be wondered at.

3. The following regulation against polygamy was issued in 1587:—

"No man was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was, 'One God, one wife.'"

"Nor does his Majesty approve," writes Abul Fazl, "of everyone marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man's health, and disturbs the peace of his home."

It is very doubtful whether any serious effort was ever made by Akbar to enforce this regulation. Himself a great sinner, having married as many as eleven wives, it is not likely that such a radical measure proceeding from him could have had any great weight with his contemporaries. Even after its promulgation it was ignored in Akbar's own household. But it may be stated in extenuation that, with rare exceptions, the marriages contracted by Akbar for himself and his sons were so many political alliances under the garb of matrimony. "His Majesty," writes Abul Fazl, "forms matrimonial alliances with Princes of Hindustan, and of other countries, and secures by these ties of harmony the peace of the world."

4. The practice of widow-burning had very early attracted the attention and roused the disapprobation of Akbar. "Since the country," writes Abul Fazl in the "Akbar Nama," "has come under the rule of his Majesty, inspectors have been appointed in every city or district, who are to watch carefully over these two cases [a voluntary *Sati*, or a *Sati* under compulsion], to discriminate between them, and to prevent any woman being forcibly burnt." The Kotwals were enjoined not to suffer any woman to be burnt against her inclination. In 1583 Akbar personally interfered in a case and saved the life of a high-

born Rajput lady, placing in confinement her son and his friends who were bent upon compelling her to ascend the funeral pyre.

Thanks to the humanity and courage of Lord William Bentinck, and the zeal of the great Indian reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, and of Dwafakanath Tagore, *Sati* is now a thing of the past. Had Bentinck known how strenuously Akbar had exerted himself for the same cause, it would have greatly strengthened his hands, and he would never have written in his masterly Minute of November 8th, 1829, "The example of all the Musulman conquerors . . . seems authoritatively to forbid . . . any interference" with the practice. It may be interesting to note in this connection that Ram Mohan Roy, when consulted by the Governor-General, suggested a method practically similar to that pursued by Akbar for the suppression of the cruel rite. "It was his opinion," writes Bentinck, in his Minute, "that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police."

5. Akbar showed no less zeal in his endeavours to introduce the re-marriage of Hindu widows. He issued certain regulations, legalising the re-marriage of widows, in 1587:—

"If widows liked to re-marry they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindus.

"A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, was not to be burnt. But if the Hindus took this ill, and would not be prevented, then in case of the wife of one who had died, one of the Hindus was to take the girl and marry her in that very interview."

Musalman writers furnish us with no more details concerning this striking phase of Akbar's career. The tricentenary of Akbar's death falls on October 15th, 1905. Akbar's death was followed by two centuries of stagnation and retrogression; and the history of Indian Social Reform in the nineteenth century may be summed up in a few sentences. The realisation of Akbar's dream of amalgamation of races or free social intercourse is farther off now than it was in the sixteenth century when Vaishnavite reformers like Ramananda and Kabir and Nanak and Chaitanya had left the ground prepared for him. His regulations legalising the re-marriage of widows have been re-enacted through the exertions of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. But the Indian Government have declined, in answer to another reformer's famous note of 1884, demanding further amendment of the Act, to take any legislative action until "such legislation has been asked for by

a section, important in influence or number, of the Hindu community itself." And no section of the Hindu community has as yet responded to this invitation !

The efforts of the same great reformer to induce the Government to lend State aid for the discouragement of child marriage have been equally unsuccessful. The case against child marriage has now grown a hundred-fold stronger than it was in the days of Akbar. And the inability of our stagnant society to move in this matter, without external aid, and the tendency of a certain class of Indian reformers to move very much faster than desirable—"to move out of relation"—render legislation absolutely necessary. Without entering upon the controversial ground any further, I shall conclude this short retrospect by commending the illustrious example of Akbar the Great as a social reformer to the serious attention of our rulers, and by appealing to our countrymen in the words of one who is perhaps the greatest of the benefactors that the Indians have known among their alien rulers after Akbar.

"And when," writes Lord William Bentinck, after setting forth the reasons that led him to abolish *Sati*, "they (the Hindus) shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others, which stand in the way of their improvement, may likewise pass away, and that thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their first place among the great families of mankind ?"

RAMA PRASAD CHANDA.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ASIATICS BY ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.*

STUDENTS of history cannot fail to draw a parallel between the growth of British and Russian rule in Asia. Both Powers were forced by the stern logic of events to conquer and annex; both encountered the fierce blast of fanaticism, and each has striven to extend and cement a distant empire by calling all the forces of material civilization to its aid. The consciousness of similar difficulties to overcome, and the presence of common foes should breed mutual respect and sympathy between the citizens of the two greatest Asiatic Powers.

The Tsar of all the Russias has several millions of Buddhist and Pagan subjects, and 207,000,000 Hindus acknowledge the sway of the Emperor of India; but Islam alone presents identical problems to their servants in the East. I will confine myself to tracing the influence of British and Russian rule on the Mohammadan population which lives under the deep shadow of our respective flags. British India includes no fewer than 53,804,000 followers of the prophet. According to the census of 1897, those who owe allegiance to the Great White Tsar numbered 18,707,000. But it is notorious that Mohammadans are averse to any official reckoning of their women-folk. An estimate which is probably nearer the truth places the Mohammadan population of the Russian Empire at 18,000,000. By way of contrast I may state that the Commander of the Faithful at Constantinople has less than 18,500,000 subjects who acknowledge his creed.

The coming of Islam is one of the greatest facts in the world's history. Its expounder had but 314 adherents when he routed his Hebrew and Koreish foes at the battle of Beder, A. D. 624. A century later they had overrun Arabia, Persia, Egypt, and Central Asia. Westwards they had spread over Northern Africa and Spain; and but for the crushing defeat administered to them by Charles Martel at Tours, in

* A lecture delivered at the Imperial Institute, London, on July 7th, 1903.

732, it is highly probable that the religion of Europe would at this time be symbolised by the Crescent. I cannot help regarding the Crusades, that mysterious movement which has puzzled so many historians, as the fruit of an instinctive effort, to hurl back the tide of Islam, which threatened to merge our creed and institutions in a common ruin.

In the thirteenth century another vast migration set in, which embraced Russia and Eastern Europe. A congeries of Mongolian tribes who had turned Mohammadan were driven from their steppes in Northern Asia by the drying up of their pastures. Impelled westward by nomad instinct they overran Muscovy, subduing the petty principalities into which it was parcelled. For two and a half centuries Russia remained under the Tartar heel; and, had the Grand Duke Vladimir II. been prepared to abjure strong drink, his subjects would have embraced Islam. A little later the Byzantine Empire was overthrown by the Turks, another branch of the great Mongolian family, who secured a footing in Europe which the mutual jealousies of the Great Powers have permitted them to retain. Upper India had already been conquered by successive waves of Mohammadan invasion. By the middle of the sixteenth century a Mughal dynasty was established at Delhi whose Chief, a descendant of the all-conquering Timur, was Lord Paramount of the whole peninsula.

But though the Cross has proved stronger than the Crescent in Europe, the latter is still supreme in Central Asia and Africa. "Between Sierra Leone and Egypt," says Mr. Blyden, "Islamism is the only intelligent moral and commercial power. It has taken possession of the most gifted tribes, and left its impress on their social life. Its adherents rule the politics and commerce of nearly the whole of Africa to the north of the Equator." The intense friction generated by the secular contest between Christian and Moslem has rendered us a little unjust towards the rival creed. That its tenets are not incompatible with intellectual and material progress is evinced by the glories of the Moorish regime in Spain. Islam, in fact, has many features which should compel our respect. Its ideals of the Unity of God, and the brotherhood of all his creatures, could have been evolved only among a poetic and reflective people. They are a powerful antidote to the soul-debasing materialism, and the reckless pursuit of wealth which threaten to destroy the form of civilization known in Western Europe and America. Mr. Victor Dingelstedt, who had lived among Russian Mohammadans, pronounces them to be, in general, "sober, dignified, respectful of authority, inclined to meditation, indolent, courageous, and fatalistic. They have vir-

tues and vices of their own, but the latter should not exclude our admiration of the former." My own long residence in India has given me many Mohammadan friends, and I fully concur in this estimate of their creed.

Fanaticism is the bane of all highly militant religions, and it slowly sapped the Empire established by the statecraft of Akbar in India. His descendant, Aurungzeb, was a bigot born in the purple, and his long reign was a period of disintegration. Its close, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, found the peninsula a prey to anarchy. Feudatory princes and successful generals threw off their allegiance to the Padishah, who reigned without governing at Delhi. Independent kingdoms rose with mushroom rapidity, and India was devastated by civil wars. Now the British adventurers, who had come as suppliants to share in the Pactolus stream of Indian commerce, were compelled by the instinct of self-preservation to draw the sword, to extend their borders, to subdue political rivals. Ere the nineteenth century was out of its teens, the throne of Akbar was filled by the East India Company. But the edifice rested on an insecure foundation. The earlier British administrators were more intent on extracting ill-gotten fortunes from their hapless subjects than studying their history and institutions. The indigenous village organisation was ruthlessly trampled on; an exotic system of law was foisted upon a people only too prone to revel in its chicane and intricacies. The masses were grossly ignorant, and the sword of annexation hung over the heads of the feudatory princes, checking the growth of loyalty to the supreme power. Good government was, in fact, impossible of attainment until the obstacles raised by nature in the shape of vast distances, rivers, and mountain ranges had been overcome. A cataclysm was provoked by the injudicious treatment of the overgrown mercenary force on which our dominion rested; and for some months of that fateful year 1857, it trembled in the balance.

The Mutiny, however, was a blessing in disguise; for it was the turning point in Indian history. England took the stern lesson to heart, and resolutely set her house in order. During a single generation the Empire has been overspread by a network of railways which, in 1902, reached a mileage of 26,000. Its postal and telegraph systems may serve as object-lessons for Europe. Nor has the advance been confined to material appliances. A comprehensive system of national education has been organized, which inspires the cultivated classes with a new-born sense of public spirit and citizenship. That much remains to do,

is rendered clear by the following statistics, comparing the percentage to the total population borne by pupils attending primary schools :—

Great Britain...13

Russia... ...3'2

British India...1'9

India is no longer what it was in the old Company's days, a close preserve for the friends and relatives of Leadenhall Street magnates. Natives have secured a fair share of official loaves and fishes, and have been entrusted with large powers of self-government. It is more than probable that the District and Local Boards, established by Lord Ripon in 1883, were suggested by the Zemstvos, which were among the many reforms of Alexander II. Feudatory princes no longer feel that their dynasties are at the mercy of a foreigner's caprice; and the sense of security has bound their interests to those of the paramount Power. Every crisis of national danger brings with it a chorus of sympathy and offers of support. Candour compels me to paint in the shades which lessen the glamour of that marvellous growth—the British Empire in the East. Our rule, taken as a whole, is perhaps the best and the most honest in the world; but it is cold and colourless, and still reeks of the counting-house. It appeals to the instinct of admiration which is the saving clause in the Indian's character, but it does not touch his heart. The fault lies partly with ourselves. We are, as a race, deficient in imagination; and, therefore, unable to put ourselves mentally in other people's places, or ask ourselves how *we* should regard an attitude on their part such as we habitually adopt. If Englishmen had a larger share of the divine gift of sympathy, there would have been no South African war to cripple our resources and distract attention from more important concerns; we should be far better friends with the Russian people, and Indians would be happier and more contented. Colonel Van Sommeren told me an anecdote the other day, which casts a flood of light on the effect of our customs on the native mind. A Sikh of high rank who was among his closest intimates said in a moment of expansion: "I am very fond of you, Sabib, but when I think that you are in the habit of eating beef, there are moments when my soul shrinks from you." Mussalmans of position regard our predilection for ham and bacon in the same light; though the lower classes, who are alone willing to enter our service, are more Catholic in their tastes. I remember an amusing instance of this fact. At a certain Anglo-Indian dinner party, the *pièce de résistance* was a splendid York ham. When it should have made its appearance at the festive board, there was an ominous

delay, and the host slipped away into the back regions to ascertain the cause. He found a strike in active progress. None of the khidmatgars would defile themselves by carrying the unclean meat to table. The amphittyon was equal to the occasion. He brought in the ham himself, with an explication which elicited loud applause. At the close of dinner, salvoes of laughter were heard from the kitchen, which inspired some curiosity among the guests. Two or three of them crept quietly to the scene of the orgie and found these self-same khidmatgars devouring thick slices of ham spread over with strawberry jam ! In point of fact, while Britons retain the virtues and defects of an insular and imperial race, and while Orientals are severed from the pleasures of social intercourse by caste prejudices and the seclusion of their women-folk, there must always be a gulf between conquerors and conquered. I have, unhappily, reason for believing that it is on the increase. London is now closer to Calcutta than was Delhi a century ago, and the ease and speed of communication with "home" induce Anglo-Indians to regard the country in which their best years are spent as a mere camping-ground. Their eyes are turned to the festivities of the hill stations, and their dream is to shake Indian dust from their feet with all possible despatch and return to the delights of golf and bridge. Nor is the economic condition of India free from the gravest dangers. The famines which desolated its fairest provinces during the last quarter of the nineteenth century are but symptoms of unsound social conditions. In point of fact, many of the most fertile tracts are over-peopled like the Black Earth region of European Russia ; while the intense conservatism of the agriculturist renders them adverse to colonising the huge areas on all sides which cry aloud for the plough. Yearly the white man's burden grows heavier. But the battle in India with Nature's blind forces is not yet lost. Much may be expected from the spread of railways and road-traction, which tend to equalise food prices and facilitate migration. The encouragement given to metallurgic and textile industries, which is among the watchwords of that great statesman, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, will also relieve the pressure on the soil.

A few words, now, as to the condition of the Mohammadans who form a respectable minority of the Indian population. Their attitude may be summed up in the word "aloofness." Exceptions there are, such as the illustrious reformer, Sir Sayyid Ahmad, of Aligarh ; but their paucity only serves to prove a too evident rule. Indian Mussalmans, as a body, are averse to our system of education, and are, rather illogically, inclined to be jealous of the monopoly of office secured by the

subtle and supple Hindus. Those who inhabit Upper India and the Madras Presidency have by no means forgotten the glories of their vanished Empire. In Bengal proper, the latent discontent is increased by keen religious prejudice. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, a revival took rise in Arabia, which strongly resembled our own reformation. Its high priest was Abdul Wahab, a fanatic of the type of Calvin and John Knox, who aimed at restoring the pristine purity of Mohammadanism by means of the sword. His followers, known as Wahabis, were deprived of their temporal power by Mehemet Ali, the lion-hearted Viceroy of Egypt, but their tenets were introduced by wandering missionaries into the Gangetic Delta. Bengal was then peopled by the descendants of aboriginal races, forcibly converted to Islam by the *dragomades* of Aurungzeb's lieutenants, who retained many of the usages of their Hindu neighbours. The late Sir William Hunter has left a vivid description of the difficulties encountered by these early apostles of a Mohammadan revival :—

“ It is only an old man talking to a group of Mussalmans under a pipal-tree. Close by an under-sized reddish pony, with a large head fixed on a lengthy neck, is trying to scratch the flies from a saddle-gall by means of a very ragged tail. The poor beast, four legs crippled with rope, hops painfully from one tuft of grass to another, occasionally turning his head round savagely on some fly beyond reach of the meagre tail, in that utter listlessness which animals worn out with travel sink into. The old man has a fresh complexion and a long white beard; he mumbles his words a little, but not enough to hide the vigorous up-country inflexion with which he delivers his sentences. He himself seems very much in earnest, but his eight or ten hearers listen with stupid eyes, and, saving a slight salam when they depart, come and go with all the freedom of a street preacher's congregation in England. It is the month of May, and the old man is vehemently denouncing the follies of the coming festival. He is by no means careful not to offend. He tells his hearers that they will stun their ears with the lutes and drums of the Bengali unbelievers till they are deaf to the melody of the Koran; and that the whole festival of the Mohurram, its sham fights, its feigned mourning, its wild feasting, its mock penitence, are utterly abominable to God and his Prophet. The Mussalmans of a quiet Bengali village are generally not the best sort of soil for a reformer to cast his seed into, and as the group breaks up at the close of the harangue, public opinion, though divided, is mainly against the speaker. Altogether, the sermon has fallen rather flat, and he is aware of it. The crowd, when dispersed,

leaves a residue of two Mussalmans in soiled clothes, who appear to be fellow-travellers of the preacher, and who watch his every movement with veneration. He talks to them in low, quiet tones for a short time, and then composes himself to sleep, while his dirty disciples fan him by turns. The pony, too, has given up any further search after parched-up tufts of grass, and, forgetful of his daily wrongs, sleeps standing under an adjacent tree. In the cool of the evening the party departs as it came, unnoticed, the old man on the pony, and the soiled followers trudging on either side. The unsuccessful preacher is the representative of many thousand earnest men at this moment wandering over Asia, sometimes acknowledged, sometimes ignored at the mosques, teaching divers doctrines, speaking various tongues, but all devoted to the pious task of purifying the creed of Mohammad, as Hildebrand's monks purged the Church of Rome."*

Times have changed during the last thirty years which have elapsed since this portrait was drawn from the life. Wahabi Maulavis now travel through Bengal attended by troops of disciples. They live on the fat of the land, and receive unbounded veneration everywhere. The bulk of Bengali Mussalmans are now affiliated to Wahabi-ism, forming a vast secret society with its peculiar religious and social codes, and a system of voluntary taxation which fills the wire-puller's treasury. Wahabis resemble our Plymouth Brethren in regarding the whole organization of society beyond their pale as an unclean thing. Indeed, the more strait-laced among their teachers hold that India, under the infidel's heel, is Dar-ul-Harb, "a Gate of War"; that neither obedience nor loyalty is due to the Emperor or his officers. Sixty years ago, the propagation of these subversive doctrines provoked a rising among the peasantry, which was not quelled without bloodshed. 1872, again, is memorable for a series of State trials of Wahabi leaders at Patna, which was then the local centre of the cult. More will be heard of the Wahabis in the Revolt of Islam which will assuredly shake the Eastern world. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that our Government will be compelled to relax its iron-bound system of *laissez-faire* with regard to the aberrations of Indian creeds. The instinct of self-preservation must, sooner or later, prompt them to watch athwart the intrigues of the vast horde of religious mendicants, who are the bitterest foes of foreign rule.

* I will now turn to the treatment of Oriental races by our colleagues in the task of civilising the Asiatic continent. We have seen that

European Russia was submerged by the tide of Moslem conquest. For two hundred and fifty years her princes and her peoples remained under the mastery of Tatar Khans encamped on the Lower Volga. At a date which synchronizes with the end of our Wars of the Roses, the oligarchies of old Muscovy were consolidated under the Grand Duke of Moscow. The Tsardom was an accomplished fact, and the Greek Church brought forces into play which outmatched the declining fanaticism of Islam. Thus Russia threw off the Tatar yoke and started on a career of conquest and assimilation. Though Napoleon's oft-quoted apothegm, "Scratch the Russian and you will find the Tatar," is the exact converse of the fact, the Russian people show still an unmistakable Mongolian strain. The instinctive sense of relationship has smoothed their path in Asia. They are free from racial pride, and meet their Oriental fellow-subjects on equal terms. At Samarkand I dined with the Mohammadan District Officer, and met his wife and children in social intercourse. Englishmen, on the other hand, are apt to regard Oriental races as inferior to themselves, and this attitude must alienate forces which, if they were consolidated, would work a political revolution in India. It is impossible to overrate the advantages derived by Russians in their relations with Orientals from the admixture of Tatar blood.

In the seventeenth century the tide of conquest began to roll eastwards. Siberia was overrun by Cossack colonists, and the nomad Kirghiz were brought to heel. Then the lower reaches of the Oxus and Jaxartes and the old caravan routes were annexed in succession. This relentless advance aroused fierce hostility in the Khanates of Central Asia—last relics of the wide sway of Islam. The Amir of Bokhara proclaimed a Holy War, and was joined by his fellow rulers on the thrones of Khiva and Kokand. In the ensuing struggle history repeats itself. The horde who flocked to the green banner of the Prophet were no match for the well armed and disciplined forces of Russia. Irjai, which decided the fate of Central Asia, was a repetition of Plassey. The allies were easily defeated. The Amir of Bokhara lost Samarkand, his richest province: Khiva was rendered tributary, and Kokand was annexed. Thus the Great White Tsar was acknowledged as Lord Paramount in these distant regions. In the relations established with the Khanates, which were permitted to retain a measure of autonomy, the Russians have copied our methods of dealing with the great Indian feudatories. A resident stands behind the sovereign and tactfully interferes to prevent acts of palpable injustice. Khiva and Bokhara are garrisoned by Russian troops, while those of the native ruler exist only for purposes of police and dis-

play. The wild Turkoman tribes alone retained independence. Encamped in their oases, within striking distance of northern Persia, Afghanistan, and the Chinese caravan routes, they subsisted by raids and kept the whole area in constant turmoil. Such neighbours were not to be tolerated. After a desperate struggle they succumbed to the fiery genius of Skobelev. The annexation of Turkomania brought the confines of Asiatic Russia in touch with the sphere of British Indian influence. Persia was reduced to financial vassalage, and the new territories were consolidated by the Trans-Caspian railway. This trunk line owes its origin to strategical considerations, but it has worked a revolution in the course of Asiatic commerce. The Russian textile industry is no longer dependent on American cotton; the teas of India and Ceylon are brought by steamers to Batoum and thence by rail to the heart of the Continent. A flood of wealth has been poured into these once isolated regions, and Turkoman free-booters may be seen working at the cotton press. Russian administration is largely based on that of British India. Many of the errors due to our early gropings in the dark have been avoided, and indigenous institutions have, on the whole, been respected. In fashioning their administrative machine the Tsar's officers discriminate between races which had attained a certain degree of civilization under settled government and nomad tribes whose growth was stereotyped centuries ago. In Turkestan proper, embracing territories formerly governed by the Khans, scrupulous regard is paid to the principles of *laissez-faire*. The unit is the District, under a Chief who is always a military officer, and is responsible for revenue and police work. The districts are split up into sub-divisions, termed *Pristas*, and the latter into Cantons, "*volost*," or groups of twenty to twenty-five villages. Each is governed by its own head, subordinate of course to the District Chief; while the village is under a mayor, "*starshina*." But our Indian system has not been followed in the dispensation of justice. A rigid separation is maintained between the judicial and executive power. Crimes are reported by officers in the latter branch to a Judge of Instruction at head-quarters, who holds a local enquiry and lays the case before a Judge of the Peace. This official tries the offenders under the Russian Penal Code. Both are subordinate, not to the District Chief, but to the Ministry of Justice at St. Petersburg. Civil causes are also heard by the Judge of the Peace, when one of the parties is a Russian, or the suit is referred to him by both parties. In other cases the Qazi decides by the light of the Mohammadan law. Speaking generally, the administration of justice in Asia is hampered by long

delays and an excessive license of appeal ; but it affords a proof of the sincere desire of Russia for the welfare of her Oriental subjects. Irrigation which is a matter of vital importance in these dry and thirsty lands, is left under native control. Education, too, is in the hands of the priesthood. Its pivots are the sumptuous universities founded by Timur and his successors, which teach the whole range of Arabic lore. Year after year they turn out thousands of bigots, puffed up by spiritual pride and dreaming of restoring a theocracy under the immutable laws of Mohammad. Such men are, necessarily, irreconcilable foes to infidel rule. A rising which took place in Ferghana, in April, 1898, was admittedly due to the machinations of the priesthood.

In governing nomad tribes reduced to submission the Russians have adopted a more patriarchal regime. The old tribal organization has been destroyed and the villages, termed *auls*, are ruled by elected mayors, "starshina." Justice is administered by district courts, composed of the District Officer, aided by five "popular judges," chosen from the *personnel* of the Courts of First Instance. These latter also consist of five elected judges, and sit weekly at the headquarters of each *volost* or group of villages in turn. Thus the ancient village government has not been trampled upon. In the Court of First Instance we detect the old panchayet of India, which we have superseded by the ever-rising tide of exotic legal procedure.

It is as difficult as it is invidious to compare the British and Russian methods of governing Orientals. The Tsar's officers have to contend with vast distances and an unhealthy climate, for irrigation without subsoil drainage brings malaria in its train. But the administrator's greatest difficulties arise from a dense population, and the consequent acuteness of the struggle for life. Thus an enormous predatory class has been evolved in British India which has no parallel in Central Asia. Turkestan in 1897 had but 3,342,000 inhabitants in an area nearly twice as large as France ; Transcaspia only 833,000, spread over a country more than thrice as great as the United Kingdom. Moreover, the standard of comfort among them is high. Famine is unknown, and the isolation of these territories almost guards them against cholera and plague. Speaking as an Indian official who has studied Russian methods on the spot, I believe that each Power sincerely desires to raise its Eastern subjects to a higher social and political level.

I will conclude with a few words on the Mohammadan population of the Russian Empire. Tatars constitute the most important section. They are found on the Lower Volga, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and

- Siberia, and number 3,897,000. Of this race an old English traveller, named John Perry, wrote in 1716, "As to these Tatars, I must do them the justice, that, as often as I had occasion to trust or make use of them, both I and all my associates have observed that we have found them sincere and honest in their lives and ingenuous in their conversation above what we have in the Russ nation." That estimate holds good at the present day. The Caucasian mountaineers are a dwindling remnant of 680,000, the bulk of the clans having fallen gloriously in the defence of their eyries, or been compelled to migrate to European Turkey. They possess all the virtues of a Highland race; and, during their thirty years' struggle with Russia, they displayed a remarkable capacity for self-government. The Kirghiz tribes, 3,637,000 strong, are peaceable nomads, who subsist by pasturing their herds, and are as adept in feats of horsemanship as were the extinct cow-boys of the United States.
- The Turkomans, like the Caucasians, have succumbed in the strife with civilization. Their disappearance as an organized army of freebooters is certainly not to be regretted; but the world is the poorer by the blotting out of human types such as the kikitka of the Turkoman and the Red-Indian's wigwam once sheltered.

Viewing the condition of Russian Mohammadans as a whole, it is impossible to avoid a conviction that they are depressed, sullen, and discontented. The fault is partly their own; for, with very few exceptions, they have made no effort to adapt themselves to the new order of things. They stand jealously on ancient ways, dream of regaining independence, and take revenge for their degradation by misleading the foreign judges and executive officers. But Russians and British are alike to blame for failing to appreciate and utilise the many noble qualities of their Moslem fellow-subjects. The Greek Church is, in principle, the most tolerant in the world, and our own creed has purged itself of the last traces of the persecuting instinct. But the spirit of the Crusades is not yet extinct, and Christians are constitutionally unable to render justice to a religion which, in Mr. Dingelstedt's words, "contains high moral principles, recommends submission to God as the Creator and Father of us all, exhorts to prayer and to a virtuous, sober life." The time has come for a more sympathetic attitude in both Empires towards Islam and its adherents, for a sustained effort to understand their aspirations and to gratify the craving for power which exists in every human heart.

SIR ALEXANDER MILLER ON THE EXCHANGE COMPENSATION ALLOWANCE.

THE article which the late Sir Alexander E. Miller, sometime Law Member of the Government of India, contributed to the June number of *East & West*, on the question of the Exchange Compensation Allowance, must have caused surprise to a large class of people in India, who knew him for his genuine sympathy with this country. It purports to be a reply to an article by Mr. Chesney, of the Indian Civil Service, which had appeared previously in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, wherein the writer made some unfavourable comments on the measure which Lord Lansdowne took at a critical juncture. He remarked that it came about "in a haphazard manner"; it did very little for the chief sufferers, many of whom had vanished from the scene, and gave the main benefit to those who had no title to it, inasmuch as they entered the service when the risks of a rupee salary "were perfectly well known; it is notorious that for the past six years the Civil Service had been attracting men of the very best stamp, the pick of the universities, and it may be supposed that what brings them is the certainty that belongs to the salary, and not the additional dole of compensation." These remarks, so far as they go, are a reiteration of the view that the opponents of the measure took at the time, though they do not go far enough. But Sir Alexander Miller joins issue with Mr. Chesney, and contends that, "the institution of the Exchange Compensation Allowance saved many thousands of deserving Government servants from dire distress, if not from absolute ruin, at a time of great emergency; nay, more, that to this action of the Government of 1893 it is in a great measure due that their successors were able to tide over the crisis of 1894-95 without disorganization, and were afforded the opportunity of establishing the currency of India on a comparatively permanent basis." In the following pages, I shall try to show that our late Law Member exaggerated the crisis so far as the question under consideration goes, and that he took a one-sided view of it, which ignores the claims of

the party at least as much concerned in the matter as the officials, namely, the tax-payers of this country.

As regards the measure itself, which* was a great deal criticised in this country at the time, it was open to four serious objections:— (1) It was made at a time when the finances of India were much embarrassed, and when to maintain an equilibrium the Government were driven to various devices which an extreme crisis only could justify. (2) It depended upon race privilege, an Indian official receiving no compensation, though he may make large remittances to England for the education of his family at English schools and colleges. (3) It was indiscriminate, not regarding the rate of exchange when the employee entered the service, nor the fact whether or no any remittance was being made to England. (4) The Government of India had acknowledged that they were not legally bound to grant such compensation.*

As regards the critical condition of Indian finance at the time, it is enough to state that the amount of the compensation allowance, which amounted to Rs. 12,39,275 in the year 1894-95, had to be made good by a re-imposition of the customs duties taken off in 1882. A duty on silver was added, the whole proceeds of the new duties amounting to Rs. 1,600,000. Besides, the expenditure on the civil and military sides had increased by Rs. 8,854,346, apart from exchange. This increase was accompanied by so much as Rs. 1,500,000, taken off expenditure under other heads, after meeting heavy additions under them on account of exchange. The increase of expenditure on civil and military services, with less than half the total increased burden of exchange, had swallowed up improvements to the extent of over twelve crores, besides bringing about a deficit of Rs. 976,037, or nearly a crore. During the decade from 1883-1893, when the downward tendency of the rupee was no longer in doubt, the Government of India had added to their sterling liabilities more than £38,000,000, with an additional charge for interest of £2,000,000. At the time when the exchange compensation was granted, an additional burden of over 3½ crores a year had been added to the taxation; and further additions in the succeeding years were only too certain. Indeed, the Government were driven to such straits that the Finance Insurance Fund was suspended, the provincial balances were invaded, and almost every branch of local administration which is concerned with the direct well-being of the people was starved.

* Regarding the second objection, Sir Alexander Miller himself

* See the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure.

admits that the expression "not domiciled in India" used in the rules guiding the grant of the allowances, was regrettable, because "its tendency was to create a distinction where, on the merits, there was no difference, and even frequently, to deny to the more deserving cases a boon granted to the less meritorious." In reply to a question in Parliament, the Indian Secretary said that the allowance "was not given avowedly for expenditure in England but to enable officers to meet such expenditure if they thought fit"; so that even though no remittance was made to England, the non-domiciled Europeans received a substantial addition to their salaries, while Indian officials, though they remitted large amounts for purposes of education and so forth, received none. In May 1897, Sir William Wedderburn asked the Secretary of State for India: "Whether the Viceroy of India, the Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Members of different Councils drew exchange compensation allowance in addition to their salaries; whether the salaries of some of them were not fixed in rupees by statute and whether the allowance taken without statutory amendment was legal." The Secretary of State in his reply said: "Exchange compensation allowance has hitherto been drawn by all the European officers in India; among these are about forty, whose salaries are fixed in rupees under statute, and doubts have been raised whether in their case the compensation, though obviously equitable, may not be technically illegal."

The compensation was granted indiscriminately without regarding the rate of exchange when the employee entered the service. It was only the senior officers that really suffered, whereas, as Mr. Chesney observes, the main benefit of the measure was given to the juniors who had no title to it, inasmuch as they entered the service when the risks of a rupee salary were perfectly well-known. Sir Alexander Miller himself admits this, but he does not attempt an explanation of the grounds on which the Government of India justified this procedure. Something may be said in defence of the measure if it offered compensation to officers who entered the service when the rupee was nearly at par, but it is obviously unjust and unfair to the Indian tax-payer to treat in the same way the junior officers who joined the service a few years previously when exchange was already below one shilling and sixpence, and when its probable further fall was only to be expected.

The Hon'ble Professor G. K. Gokhale in his evidence before the Welby Commission in 1897 said: "It was most unfair to give the allowance to all, I mean men who went out to India after the rupee had fallen below 1s. 4d., *i.e.*, who accepted the rupee salaries with their eyes

open, as also those who had no remittances to make to England; these at any rate, ought not to have been granted the allowance. This indiscriminate nature of the grant constitutes, in my opinion, its worst and most reprehensible feature. No wonder, after this, that the Indians should feel that India exists for the European services and not the services for India. While the miserable pittance spent by Government on the education of the people has stood absolutely stationary for the last five years on the ground that Government has no more money to spare for it, here is a sum larger than the whole educational expenditure of Government given away to its European officials by one stroke of the pen. The salaries of some of the officials are fixed in rupee by statute. The grant to these men seems to be illegal as the statute is not amended. The question, I understand, has been raised, but it has not yet been disposed of by the Secretary of State. Meanwhile, the allowance continues to be paid to these officers pending such disposal."

Sir Alexander Miller admits that the rule under which the allowances were given was productive of irregularities. As soon as the Government of India perceived these irregularities they proposed to modify the rule, which, however, they were not permitted to do. Sir Alexander surmises that this refusal "was based on a fear that the revenue of India already weighted by the fall of exchange might prove unequal to the burden." Certainly this is straining at a gnat while swallowing the camel. The compensation allowances cost nearly a crore and a half, and to have declined to add a comparatively small amount to set right these irregularities points to a critical condition of the Indian finances. It shows what serious wrong to the tax-payers was involved in the measure which Sir Alexander Miller so warmly eulogises.

Sir Alexander Miller is very sympathetic with the junior officials that received compensation. The sufferings of these men by the fall in exchange, he says, "were in many cases perfectly heart-rending, and were largely such as no Government worthy of the name could afford to disregard." Whether this is a true picture, we shall consider presently. Meanwhile, it should be observed that the falling value of the rupee affected the Indian employees in the public service equally by the effect it had on the purchasing capacity of money in this country. "Every article imported from Europe," in the words of Sir Alexander, "every article raised in India for which there is a market in Europe, and even the wages of domestic servants and the prices of all but the commonest article of food were enhanced in varying but always

perceptible degree." Such enhancement, it is obvious, must affect the Indian servants with their extremely poor salaries—salaries fixed over one hundred years ago, when prices were one-third or one-fourth of the prices of modern times—more severely than the Civil Servants. In fact, the distress of the European employee was more or less imaginary. On the other hand, the salaries of the civilians, in certain provinces, of two to twenty years' standing, had gained rather than lost by the depreciation in exchange. The reason was that men began to retire from their service as soon as they could, which naturally quickened promotion with increased pay for junior men. A well-informed correspondent in Lucknow, writing in the London organ of the Indian National Congress, in September, 1896, observed: "Taking the average salaries of Indian civilians in the North-West Provinces and converting them into pounds sterling, half at the rate of exchange for the year and the other half at the rate granted by way of compensation, we arrive at the following startling results:—

Officers		1875	1895	Increase of "
				average salary.
From 2 to 7 years' standing	...	£639	£793	£154
" 8 to 12 "	...	£945	£1,212	£267
" 13 to 17 "	...	£1,233	£1,688	£455

It is only when we look into the salaries of officers of from 18 to 22 years' standing that we find, in spite of compensation, a serious fall in value, the average incomes of these civilians having fallen from £2,404 to £1,841. It may be well to mention that the figures have been compiled from the Civil List for January in each year (men on furlough and serving under other Governments being united). In January there are fewer men on furlough than at any other time of the year; while for at least six months in the year, the junior men are as a body drawing much higher pay than that upon which the foregoing calculations have been based." It is strange that for people so comparatively well off Sir Alexander Miller should have such overflowing sympathy, while he seemed to have none for poor Indian officials in whose case living had become several times dearer, without any increase in their salaries taking place at the same time, or for the people at large who were burdened with taxation and were going through a period of great depression.

The Government of India admitted that European officials who received compensation had no legal claim upon them, but their claim was of a moral nature. Moral, indeed! Where was the morality in a transaction which robbed poor Peter to pay rich Paul and which brought fresh suffering to an already suffering people by taxing some of their

ordinary necessities of life, such as salt and clothes? If the claims of British officials were simply moral, they might have more properly looked to the British Government for their satisfaction than to the bankrupt Government of India. People nowadays talk of the white man's burden and the philanthropic and civilising mission of the Anglo-Saxon race; and it certainly does seem inconsistent with this boast that European officials, purposely paid on liberal scales, should have shown impatience at a temporary diminution of their salaries, and clamoured for compensation at the cost of a poor, voiceless people who had suffered much by the extravagance of the Government, by oppressive taxation and by generally hard times. European officials of the Government of India are really better off than their countrymen at home. They enjoy more luxuries and more pleasures than their brethren do in England. Comparing the position of the English civilian with that of the Anglo-Indian, a speaker at the Congress Session, in December 1893, drew attention to the fact that the former, who was as well educated as the latter, began on a salary of £100 a year and expected to reach £600. An Anglo-Indian civilian, however, started upon four hundred rupees a month (say with the rupee at 1s.), £240 a year, and he might reach £2,000 or more. He has also a handsome pension at the end of his service. Thus, even with the rupee at one shilling, the remuneration of the English officials in India was more than sufficient for all reasonable men. There is also another circumstance to be considered in this connection. Though the sterling equivalent of the rupee in 1893 was smaller than in previous years, still, as Mr. D. E. Wacha pointed out before the Welby Commission, this smaller equivalent did not represent a proportionate reduction in its purchasing power. It is notorious that gold prices of articles of daily consumption had fallen considerably in England. The average fall was about 20 per cent. Taking his figures from the Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom, Mr. Wacha contrasted the average prices of articles of consumption in the years 1882 and 1892, with percentages of increase or decrease. He found the fact to be dead against the contention of the Anglo-Indian officials, and concluded that their cry as to hardship was unwarranted.

It is difficult to understand what Sir Alexander meant when he said at the conclusion of his article "that it was in great part due to this measure that the Government of India were enabled to tide over the crisis of 1894 to 1895 without disorganization, and were afforded the opportunity of establishing the currency of India on a comparatively permanent basis." Does he mean that all the six thousand (not

"many" thousands as Sir Alexander said) persons who received compensation, or any considerable proportion of them, would have struck work or resigned, leaving Government in the lurch? Far from any such thing happening, the fact was that even during the period when exchange sunk to the lowest rate, the Civil Service continued to attract men of the very best stamp, the pick of the Universities, for the very good reason, as we have pointed out above, that the British Indian Civilian was much better off pecuniarily than his brother at home. Nor is it easy to see the connection between the exchange compensation allowance of 1893 and the establishment of the currency on a permanent basis. This latter measure was rendered necessary by the peculiar conditions of the foreign trade and of the economic development of India, and the improvement of the pecuniary condition of the British officials in India was certainly a matter of secondary importance.

Since the establishment of the currency on a permanent basis, the amount of the compensation allowance, which was one crore and thirty-two lakhs in 1895-96, has fallen to a comparatively low figure. It cannot be more than half a crore at present, but the evil of an excessively large alien agency employed in the administration of the country, from which arose directly the need for compensation allowance, continues. The Government of India in all their troubles at that period never thought that the best remedy for the remittance trouble, as well as for the far more serious trouble of India's growing economic drain, was the substitution of indigenous for an alien agency, thereby making the payments of salaries more independent of sterling remittances to England. Sir Alexander Miller does not say a word in reference to this important lesson that the Government of India might have drawn from their troubles of 1893. Time was, and that not very long ago, when responsible Anglo-Indians did not hesitate to point out frankly the serious evil of an overgrown and extravagantly paid foreign service. In 1886, the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, for instance, in a memorandum addressed to the Finance Committee of that year, pointed out: "That circumstances have so changed that a revision of all salaries, more particularly of those above Rs. 1,000 a month, was justifiable and called for." In a recent discussion on this subject the Chamber added: "The decline in sterling exchange has been urged as a strong argument for non-reduction; but in the view of this Chamber that is a matter which the Government should not take into account. What it has to look to is purely the amount it must pay under all existing conditions and circumstances, in order to secure the necessary qualified labour in this country, leaving individuals themselves to

provide for the wants of their families in Europe and their requirements for leave. The Chamber, in fact, would go even further than this and advocate that under the new rule for future contracts, all civil pensions and retiring allowances should be paid in the currency of the country. India is no longer a *terra incognita* to the educated classes of England, and even under the comparatively less tempting inducements indicated above, the Chamber feels convinced that there will be no lack of suitable men ready and anxious to recruit the ranks of the service." This was the lesson that should have come home to the Government of India and to responsible Anglo-Indian officials like Sir Alexander Miller, out of the trouble which ended in the granting of exchange compensation allowance. But far from any such lesson having been learnt, it is surprising that any serious proposal should have been made, as it seems it was, to raise the salaries of all European officers. According to Sir Alexander, it was an essential part of the Government's plan at the time that so soon as the requisite stability of exchange had been established the whole question of salaries should be considered. That this revision has not since been undertaken is evidently not the fault of the Government of India. The fault is that of the great milch cow which cannot be milked further without jeopardy to her very life.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN HOUSE.

NOT long ago Mr. Begg, the Consulting Architect to Government, gave a lecture at the Free Church Literary Society, Bombay, on "The Anglo-Indian House." As he invited free criticism, discussion went on to a late hour, and was extended to embrace buildings generally. The proper method of house-building in India is of abiding interest to us, and will repay the deepest thought. Mr. Begg began by professing his comparative ignorance of the problem owing to his short residence in India, and his willingness to learn. He said he was by no means sure that the proper method had been thought out of treating verandas, that buildings ought to be constructed of stone to keep out the heat, that the evolution of bungalows was from the ground-floor veranda-bungalow with tent roof, first, to the upper-storied veranda-bungalow, which had by force of circumstances evolved into the flat of many stories, that the flat owing to the dearth of ground had come to stay, and that we must devote our energies to its proper development, utilizing the largest amount of room space, and sacrificing all non-essentials. I was glad to hear him say that the comfort obtained from good planning, in securing separate and private access to the several bedrooms, was of prime importance, and that pretty architecture, the satisfaction of a good design, must take a subordinate place, that meretriciousness in design should be avoided, all such unmeaning ornaments as shields and the like being omitted. He emphasised the necessity of through breeze to every part of the house, that lofty rooms owing to their costliness were no longer possible, and that through ventilation could only be secured by introducing specially designed windows just under the ceiling of each floor.

In the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Dr. Mackichan, the Principal of the Wilson College, Bombay, showed

that thick masonry walls were a necessity in the districts only, where throughout the hot weather the temperature was always above the century, and in the cold weather it was just as needful to shut out the cold ; while Bombay being differently circumstanced must receive its own special treatment.

I confirmed Dr. Mackichan's statement, pointing out that Bombay was not in India, but an island in the Indian Ocean, surrounded by sea water, which in our winter never got below 80 degrees Fahr., and that this warmth was the dominant factor, which gave the climate of our island a damp mugginess peculiarly its own. The monsoon brought its own troubles. At Poona 30 inches of rain fell in five months, usually with an absence of wind it dropped "as the gentle rain from heaven."

In Bombay, on the contrary, it fell in furious squalls, blowing at 50 miles an hour. Ninety inches concentrated in four months, making open verandas a failure, and necessitating an immediate retreat inside the closed portion of the house. I echoed the lecturer's doubts about verandas. I instanced the foolish verandas of the Bombay High Court, which keep out neither sun nor rain, and showed that every day of the monsoon His Majesty's Judges, in walking along the central corridor to their chambers, had to walk through a river forty feet long, over which they stepped on logs of wood and flat stones specially placed for that temporary purpose every year. Nothing could be done to keep out this rain, because Mr. Adams, Mr. Begg's predecessor, indignantly refused his sanction to the only means by which the rain could be effectually shut out, because such means would spoil, be a blemish and an excrescence on the architecture. Such a failure makes the man of the world laugh, but the wise man grieve.

I then instanced the late Mr. Stevens' Victoria Terminus Administration Offices, which I called a dream of beauty in stone, the handsomest building in the world, in which, as in the High Court, the area of the verandas is larger than the area of the usable space in the rooms, and yet the Railway officials complain, because comfort and convenience have been sacrificed to beauty—the verandas failing to keep out both sun and rain. It is the same in the Municipal Offices building by the same architect ; the money has all gone in domes and towers and useless verandas. Here the growing needs of

a live administration have compelled the several staffs on every floor to overflow into the East verandas, the West verandas being reserved as corridors in which you daily walk slipping through the slimy water at the imminent risk of breaking your legs. Why is this? Because the architect refused to allow the verandas to be protected in the only possible way. He would only permit useless roller blinds to be put up behind the arches *inside* the verandas, in order that his pet architecture might always be in full view! The same radical defect was noticeable in the B. B. and C. I. Railway Administration Offices. Needful space was sacrificed to beautiful, costly and useless verandas. This was not architecture, it was folly, this importation of foreign styles of design into a damp tropical island needing its own special style of treatment. This should be evolved out of one's inner consciousness, instead of blindly adopting those styles, suited to withstand the snows of England, the heat of the Moorish Sahara, or the temperate climes of Italy and Greece.

Many years ago, having a lot of theodolite surveying to do in the jungle, and wishing to move about rapidly, I made a hill tent ten feet square, without a centre pole, but with uprights at the four corners, hinged at eaves and apex, the whole so light that it could be carried by two coolies. The charm of this tent was that the kanauts were so constructed as to unlace during the day, and propped out horizontally by eight light bamboos. They formed a grateful mass of shade thirty feet square, the comfort and coolness of which is indescribable. For, so opened out, I was sitting in effect under a big tree, through which the soft breeze could play without hindrance. The recollection of that season's pleasurable wanderings has never left me. By this evolution of the light open kanaut-tent I had solved the problem of travelling with comfort in the hot Indian jungle, and at the same time, as I believe, have grasped in thought, in idea, what the Indian bungalow and town flat should be—a development of the Japanese house, with deep continuous weather shades all round on every floor, closed in with windows to keep out the cold North wind of winter, but open all the remainder of the year day and night, admitting the bright light and gentle breezes, but shutting out rain, squalls, and all glare and heat of the sun. The walls of the rooms so constructed as to secure privacy, but not to obstruct the passage of soft wind through the house. The gentle

movement of air moderates the heat of the body, its absence causes perspiration, and the attendant sense of discomfort, due to the pores of the skin becoming closed. During sickness the majority of the windows could be shut to keep out all sense of chill, at the same time admitting of perfect ventilation and perfusion of air.

Here, then, is a problem waiting for solution. The real difficulty is that in this matter we shall get no help from the Indian house-owner, while the Anglo-Indian is a bird of passage, seldom possessing his own house, and loth to undertake expensive experiments.

I applied the same practical criticism to Mr. Begg's dictum that the proper material for Bombay houses is stone. I pointed out that in every house built of stone in Bombay, the furious wind causes the rain to drive through the walls like a sieve, and that the only possible protection is oil paint, which closes up the pores in the stone. Yet the Bombay Improvement Trust have recently issued an edict, obedience to which is impossible, that no oil paint shall be applied to their stone buildings. The only lasting protection which can be applied to masonry, whether of stone or brick, is plaster. Nothing else will keep out the driving rain. Yet plaster is Anathema Maranatha to the Trust and to Mr. Begg in his capacity of Government architect.

Why should this be? Because we are dominated by false ideals, true in the latitude of rich London with its rainfall of 30 inches spread over a whole year, and where, as the direct result of this slight rainfall, you will not find a single veranda; false in our tropical island, where keeping the rain out of our houses must be the first consideration. Yet our Improvement Trust forget nothing and learn nothing. Forty years ago official Bombay was ruled by a triplet of clever Government architects imported from London, with no local experience, Messrs Trubshaw, Paris and Molecey, names forgotten to the present generation, but who left their mark in the rules for erecting buildings on the Esplanade. The Trust adopted these rules *en bloc*, the principal one being that the buildings must be constructed of stone, or *painted brick*, the only material suitable to the climate, plaster being rigorously excluded.

• Upon the historical evolution of the Flat, I pointed out that the invention of the high plinth, which makes the ground-floor as private, and therefore fetching almost as good a rent as the upper

stories, was due to my late partner, Mr. Morris, and myself, and that its use has now become universal in private residences abutting on the street. The residents can watch the passing traffic if they wish, but passers-by can no longer look into the ground-floor rooms. Complete privacy and freedom from street dust is thus secured.

D. GOSTLING.

THE CONFESSIONS OF AN ECCENTRIC FREE TRADER.

I AM a Free Trader. Had I a vote in Europe, America or India, I should give it unhesitatingly to Free Trade, and that in the full assurance that there is a great deal to be said for the other side entitled to my consideration—which consideration I have not yet given. The eccentricity to which I confess, then, is not that of the crank—the man who cannot constitutionally think as other men do, or who has a craving to appear divergent from other people. On the contrary, I repeat that had I to decide the question, under the pressure to give a definite vote, I should do so as I believe the bulk of reasonable men are prepared to do. But not having the vote, I am under no such urgency to decide ; and my eccentricity consists in a longing to harmonise my Free-trade economic views with my general outlook on life and the world. As I attempt this reconciliation, I am conscious of a conflict of emotion ; and my confession in this paper is the utterance of this conflict, and the utterance of the balance of feeling nevertheless in favour of Free Trade.

To take only a few items, I largely sympathise with the reluctance of the white people of Australia and South Africa to increase yellow and black labour in the territories they have marked out for their zone of occupation ; it seems to me that Free Trade *necessitates* a freedom of movement to populations ; and hence a discord. Again, I notice that there is a great deal to say in favour of the white peoples populating the waste tracts of the world, and Free Trade demands it : but there is a great deal to say in favour of awaking a national life in each of the backward races of the world ; and these two currents do not readily coalesce in my mind. I am uneasy that Free Trade treats human labour only as a substitute for cattle power and machine power, and values it only

as a matter of profit and loss to the employer ; my Eastern breeding is repelled by this outcome of international trade—and yet one more discord. Every step that brings Socialism nearer and puts back competition is a step satisfying to my ethical sentiment ; and its converse is ethically depressing ; and yet I cannot suppose that the atmosphere of Free Trade will promote this ideal.

But though I am conscious of these discords, they are not practically operative to compel adhesion to Protection. The national antipathies which Protection arouses, the limited intellectual horizon which must result from restricted international intercourse, the essentially materialistic foundation of its creed, are even more repellent to me than anything on the other side ; and it is easy to see that Socialism is not yet with us, and that the problems of restriction of alien immigration have not yet entered the region of practical politics to the extent of compelling a modification of my Free Trade faith. Therefore, on a balance, my emotion as well as my intellect are enlisted for Free Trade—for Free Trade for India no less than for England.

Let me develop each of these points to convince the reader that I am in earnest. With the very alphabet of Free Trade I learnt at College, I absorbed the teaching that reduced numbers are a help to wages. Later modifications of this teaching have made it more generally acceptable ; but there always was a kernel of truth underlying it. There are only two sources from which wages may find their increase ; either when labour is made more productive, or when it is enabled to exact better terms from the employer and capitalist. When it is said that the survivors of the Black Plague and of the Napoleonic wars were more prosperous than their predecessors, it can only mean either that the pressure of population on subsistence was reduced, *or* that labour was able to make better terms with its employer. It is the last which workmen have more in mind, while the first gives colour to Malthusian theories. Nevertheless, want of labour *may* certainly leave a country undeveloped, and therefore wages on the whole might be less with smaller numbers, because the want of development restricts the field of employment. Increase of numbers may mean increased association and strength, as well as competition. Therefore I am not prepared to allow that in every case workmen should attend to the Malthusian limit ; but I am bound

to say that workmen have a grievance if they are encouraged in restraints on population, and if these restraints are nullified by unchecked foreign immigration. I should say, in the light of nature, that in such sparsely inhabited countries as Australia or Africa, increase of numbers must mean an economic gain to the workman ; but I am not on the spot, and shall not dispute the conclusions of men on the spot.

So much on behalf of a general shutting out of aliens. More can be, and ought to be honestly, said for the exclusion of *undesirable* aliens. I will admit at once that if anybody thought that my countrymen are endowed with more than the average of original sin, I should not hesitate to call him impudent ; but the question is *not* what *general* value is to be put on them, compared with other men ; but what value is to be put on them in combination with the elements which have discovered and exploited new continents. Here again, I shall not judge. But I confess I do not reject as untenable the suggestion that two elements highly desirable in themselves might sometimes be undesirable in association. If an Asiatic people, tenacious of custom, worshipping strange divinities, eating spare food, distrusting science and progress, and multiplying with incomparable fecundity, are to be let loose on a white race who misapprehend their gentleness for servility, and their love of thrift for their love of dirt, I do not think that we can reasonably complain if the white race be appalled at the prospect of a polity with such members. I am not convinced that indiscriminating exclusion of Asiatics is right in the present case—particularly since Australians do not appear to object to obtaining snug appointments in Asiatic countries ; but I am quite sure that exclusion is not morally wrong in every case. Did the village communities of old accept every candidate for adoption ? Has the event proved President Kruger wise in allowing his country to be opened up by cosmopolitan miners ? Let us think and speak with candour.

As long as the world has not filled up, as long as there are tracts open to immigrants of every race, as long as a man can found a polity of his own choosing, so long the right of exclusion must, I submit, be conceded. But trouble and wrong come in when the white races do not merely fill the desirable spaces of the world, but simply hold them for future comers of their own race,

and leave no ground for the other races to pick up. England, France and Holland ridiculed the Papal partition of America between Spain and Portugal; and yet they assemble in solemn congress for the partition of Africa where no non-European Power is represented. "Effective occupation" is, indeed, made the test of tenure; still if the Australians are considered to be in effective occupation of their continent by being distributed at the rate of less than two to a square mile, and that also by a great portion congregating in a few towns on the coast, there will be no space for Asiatic wanderers, undisputed by the effective occupation of white races.

This impossibility of overflow, or of change, of habitation to the races at present backward is, to my mind, the sting and the injustice of the restrictions on migration. Now Free Trade postulates a free migration. Free Trade demands that a gold-mining population should live on the necessities and luxuries purchaseable with the gold they extract. But when gold mines are exhausted, and agriculture cannot support so large a population, and there are not special advantages to manufacturing industries, what should be the economic fate of this population? Migration from worked-out districts to others offering more lucrative opportunities is obviously the only resource that Free Trade can contemplate; and if that should be barred by the white races, Free Trade has obviously done no service to this population. Having given qualified approval to the anti-Asiatic legislation of South Africa and Australia, I must admit that here there is an incompatibility in my two aims. And if I still adhere to Free Trade for India, it is chiefly because I consider that India is not in the condition of dependence on an exhaustible natural agent as postulated by my data; and also because I am not sure that anti-Asiatic antipathies will not pass away, nor that Indians reject Free Trade because of fear of barriers on freedom of migration. I, therefore, admit a theoretical difficulty in the reconciliation of these two views; but practically there is no case for a departure from Free Trade.*

I have left myself little space to develop the other discords

* The discerning reader will distinguish between this argument and the contention of Mr. Justice Ranade against Free Trade based on the operation of the Law of Diminishing Returns. Mr. Ranade has maintained that Free Trade would condemn the Tropics to perpetual agricultural industry which, being subject to the Law

similarly, much as I should like to do it. Socialism is to me both a forecast and an aim—for a future several decades ahead. I know that Karl Marx's deduction of the forecast from the Hegelian Trilogy has been challenged ; and it is not on Marx's grounds I support it. The truth is that I have only to indicate my discords, not to argue in favour of my prepossessions. These exist, and that is enough. But practically, again, the discord is ineffective to divert me from Practical Free Trade, and for these reasons. In the first place, the question is, what we shall do under *present* conditions, not under circumstances which may arise hereafter. In the second place, I am not quite sure either of the forecast or of the ideal. Forecasts of events centuries in advance are apt to be as foolish as they are untrue. A forecast depends on the continuance of data we have taken into account ; if there are discontinuities in prospect, these discontinuities should be predictable. Now, the only thing predictable about the future is that there will be unpredictable discontinuities ; how they will operate, nobody can say. The change from Matriarchy to the present patriarchy, the discovery of agriculture, the rise of an Empire one and indivisible, the irruption of barbarians, the influence of Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the discovery of America, the Newtonian view of the Cosmos, Darwinian Evolution,† the railway and

of Diminishing Returns, would mean a sentence of ever-growing poverty; whereas the manufacturing countries of the temperate zone would grow increasingly richer on the Law of Increasing Returns. This is a contention which to me appears destitute of force. Where there is free exchange, it is the *consumers* who divide the benefit of Increasing Returns, and bear the burden of Diminishing Returns. To use technical language, Diminishing Returns create the Producers' Rent ; Increasing Returns only increase the consumers' rent—except in cases of monopoly or other restraints on free exchange. A purely manufacturing country cannot subsist except in dependence on agricultural and mining countries ; the food of the manufacturer is to be obtained only from the surplus product remaining after the agriculturist has fed himself and family. It is the manufacturer who will have to pay the full extra cost of raising extra food ; if extra food cannot be raised, it is the manufacturer who will starve first. In truth, Free Traders have recognised that in so far as this difference is an argument at all, it is an argument against a country abandoning agriculture, and not the other way, as suggested by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. Free Trade, indeed, might introduce cause for anxiety if the natural agent supporting a population be exhaustible by large exports ; but that would be a reason for restrictive export duty, and not a *direct* prohibition on imports.

† Human Society is apt to be influenced as much by the cant as by the truths of a creed. The reaction against Liberalism now in full swing everywhere has derived no small sustenance from the ethical implications currently attributed to the Darwinian doctrine.

the telegraph are some instances of discontinuities. To take only one instance. Who can foresee how society will be affected by Female Franchise ? I was about to say that while one-half of mankind—its women—are only happy in submerging their personalities in the Family, it is impossible that mankind will accept the love of gain as the only incentive to work. This may seem to work for a future Socialism ; but it could have escaped few observers how strictly limited altruism is, and how the very depth of women's attachment to the Family induces something like a feeling of detachment from all beside, and ensures less than rational appreciation of or injustice towards those who thwart the objects of their affection. This seems to recall to mind the religious cruelty and license which some scholars have seen to be characteristic of the ancient Matriarchate. Forecasts, I repeat, are idle except for the immediate future. They that build for the remote glory of a city or empire might find, if they could return to see the fruit of their work, that men have no longer emotional associations attached to city or empire.

An aim for a future so remote is no less idle than a forecast. Socialism contemplates an organization of Society to achieve certain ideals which appeal to me as fundamental; the boundless liberty of the individual, and the devotion of that freedom to the service of the Universe—whatever that might mean. The conjunction of a free individuality and altruistic passion in the ideal does not secure the same conjunction in the actual ; and in so far as there is a tendency to divergence from this conjunction, Socialism appeals to me as a contrivance capable of restraining the divergence. But its success can only depend on the constitution of minds brought under its influence; and nobody can answer for future variations of the brain-constitution, or unsuspected latencies in that constitution even now. We are so made that we cannot refrain from perpetually blundering into prophecies and wishes ; but the prophecies and wishes are, all the same, blunders.

The temperature of my Socialistic faith being so tepid, I am relieved from the duty of examining whether there is any real conflict between the competitive *regime* on which Free Trade builds, and the co-operative *regime* which Socialism inculcates. Really, there are no data for an answer ; who will confidently declare what is the proper geographical and populational size for a Socialistic unit ?

Let me then admit the conflict of feeling which accompanies my Free Trade judgment; let me also cordially second the protest against a particular economic policy being held as eternally binding. For Free Trade is to achieve certain ends at a certain cost; it cultivates internationalism at the expense, perhaps, of nationalism; it extends our intellectual horizon, not without undermining the instinct for national defence; it multiplies material comforts, but it weakens the restraints on population, reduces the economic value of human beings to that of machines, accentuates town or country life, inflicts hardships on individuals and districts by insisting on a re-adaptation not sufficiently prepared for. It wastes a great deal of the personal and material capital (skill and specialised tools) in the process. But should circumstances arise which diminish the gain of Free Trade, and increase its cost, what should compel adherence to it? In the process from an undifferentiated economical organization to the era of specialised skill and costly machinery, the waste required in a re-adaptation or change of occupation has immensely increased. We (who are Free Traders still) declare that even yet the waste is small; that the capital is only gradually put away, and that it pays producers very often to change their machines; above all that even now the fixed capital is, perhaps, half the value of the product manufactured with its aid.* But, of course, the waste may become excessive in time; and it is always well to look into the account from period to period.

Similarly, an important item in the gain from Free Trade is the advantage to individual consumers and producers to bargain without Government intervention. So many different objects satisfy the same utility, so many different uses may be served by the same object, that Governments would have to possess all the knowledge of all the business men in all countries, and, perhaps, for all time, before they could hope to regulate these matters more satisfactorily than individuals. But the information at the disposal of Governments is daily increasing, and is being better organised; and it is possible that if Governments could be held back from jobbing,

* * American experience suggests that specialised skill may not perhaps play the same part in the 20th as in the 19th Century—that automatic machinery may supersede it.

they might do something for Industry after consultation with Chambers of Commerce and councils of workmen. Personally, I am in favour of utilising the new Department of Commerce in India for industrial ends. One of the things I would set it to do would be to make a list of merchantable articles and investigate their costs of production item by item in various countries. Thus for each article there would be a table, one column of which would specify the items of cost; a second column would state the present expected cost in India for each item; a third column would state the cost to the importing country, including freight to the market; a fourth column would determine the present advantage to the foreigner in each item; a fifth column of remarks would explain the probable reduction of this advantage to the foreigner, and the limit of time for reduction; a memorandum would explain why we may not wait for the introduction of the product till the foreigner's advantage be extinguished in the natural course of events. This step would, I think, be a wise one, would diffuse a great deal of needed authoritative information, and focus the attention of capital and enterprise on practicable ventures. The step should suffice for all practical purposes as State help to industry; an export duty restricting the sending abroad of forest produce, coal and food products, might, perhaps, be considered in addition.* A further useful precedent might, perhaps, be found in a measure recently discussed between Government and the Upper India Chamber of Commerce anent the planting in India of an industry for the extraction of oil from seeds. Government were to supply the machinery, a firm was to have been selected by the Chamber to work this machinery, and the firm was to have been promised the right of pre-emption of this machinery.

[Since this was put into type, it has been announced that a Calcutta firm has independently started an oil-extraction concern in the Central Provinces. Such a concern was declared unprofitable

* Generally speaking, restrictions on the export of products (for fear of exhaustion of supplies) are inexpedient. The use of coal for power belongs to the 19th Century; how long will it be before sunshine will take its place? I confess to a repugnance to the Free Trade tendency to use up resources regardless of the day after to-morrow; but the principle of substitution of products for the same utility seems to justify it in practice. Countries which stored up coal in the hope of controlling the industry of the next century would probably find, when the next century came, that they had done a very foolish thing, that coal was superseded by other natural agents.

in an official bulletin two years ago : that it pays to start one now is supposed to be due to the extension of cotton cultivation which has cheapened seed : so rarely is State help really needed or effective.]

Government might even go further ; in the case of genuine infant industries, and passed as such by the Department of Commerce, they might offer to guarantee an interest of 3 per cent. to *one* establishment. The advantage of the guarantee system over import duties would be that the consumer would be unfettered in buying, and no other industry purchasing the guarantee-produced article need pay more than before. Moreover, the experiment would be tried by *one* pioneer establishment, and State guarantee would make available for public information the result of the experiment. Finally, the public loss would be rigidly kept under limit, and would not be a means of enriching producers. I should wish to see the guarantee experiment tried, if there were visible means by which Governments could be trusted to select the proper party for the experiment. I know that I would select men whom I knew best socially ; and Viceroys and Secretaries would do the same. That is the practical obstacle.

Let us then try to see what we can do to utilise the splendid machinery of the State for industrial ends. But let us not get entangled in the old cobwebs of fallacy, let us not shout the Mercantile Theory with Mr. Seddon, let us not rage against Imports, let us look to it that we do not throw open the door to international animosities, let us not slip into the impossible positions from which Economic Science has rescued us once, and let us hope, for good.

UNDER THE EMPRESS: LEAVES FROM A LANDSMAN'S LOG.—PART I.

CHAPTER I.—OLD HAILEYBURY.

[The following pages may be regarded as supplementary to a book by the same author, published a few years ago, under the title, "A Servant of John Company."* In that work the writer attempted to indicate some of the changes which had taken place in British India since the date of his entering the Civil Service, more than half a century before. The India of the Company was administered in a patriarchal and somewhat haphazard manner, which possibly helped to bring on the Mutiny of 1857, but which certainly caused less trouble both to rulers and ruled than the more scientific system which followed the introduction of direct Parliamentary control. Bearing this in mind, readers of the present day may be willing to consider a few more recollections.]

WHILE this page is being recorded (February 1901,) the obsequies of Victoria, Queen and Empress, are being performed; and the writer recalls the time when he used to meet the Princess Victoria walking with her august mother about the lanes and downs of Tunbridge Wells. Her life almost extends from the fall of the feudal system to the establishment of modern democracy; passing through the short interval of burgess-rule when the Tenpound Franchise was deemed final, and our Trade was to rule the world. India was then the "Empire of the middle classes"; the Cheesemongers of Leadenhall—to borrow Lord Wellesley's phrase—were still dominant in the choice of men to administer that remote, almost unknown, land, though they had ceased to hold the monopoly of its traffic or even of its political supremacy.

*"A Servant of John Company; being the Recollections of an Indian Official," by H. G. Keene, C.I.E., Hon. M.A. &c. Published by Thacker & Co., London and Calcutta, 1897.

It says much for the activity of Yankee intelligence that our Transatlantic cousins, on being confronted by a similar problem, should have immediately cast back their attention to those distant days. In beginning to organise an oversea Dependency in the Philippines, they are already studying the means by which the East India Company provided for work of the kind.* The Company, it may be remembered, had a College for training their Civil Servants; and the Americans point to its inherent flaw, namely, the controlling of the College by the same body by whose members the students had been nominated. Holding their offices by the pleasure of the same men, the Principal and his council were unwilling to ruin their own patron's nominees; and hence the discipline of the place lacked the ultimate sanction of *expulsion*, by which alone it could have been made effective. Cases, therefore, occurred in which men were sent out to govern India, who had never been reduced to obedience or taught to govern themselves. A shrewd female observer in the first half of the century gave instances of the unfitness of some of the men whom she met, regarding them from the point of view offered to a lady visitor. "Their poor dear manners were quite gone. . . . The gentlemen talk of Vizier Ali and Lord Cornwallis; the ladies do not talk at all: and I don't know which I like best. Towards the end of the rainy season the lowness of spirits that comes on is quite dreadful: every one fancies that he is going to die; and then, he thinks, no one will bury him, as there is no other European at hand. *Moral*: Never send a son to India."†

Such was the impression made on the Governor-General's sister by the Haileybury Civilians of 1839; and however we may suspect a little caricature, we can easily imagine a certain lack of energy in the administration of those forlorn exiles. Very unflattering pictures, also, of their military *confrères* appear in works of the day; and it must be borne in mind that the Company's Army furnished many an understudy for the most important parts in the drama of public life. Kaye's "Long Engagements"—a forgotten fiction of the first Afghan War—and Sir William Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections" may in this connection deserve a passing notice; as also "Oakfield," a somewhat later work, by W. D. Arnold.‡ It was ungraciously observed, by Arnold's more famous brother Matthew, that "no Arnold could write a novel"—the subsequent

* "Colonial Civil Service," A. Lawrence Lowell and H. Morse Stephens, New York, 1900.

† "Up the Country." Hon. Emily Eden, 2 vols. 3rd Edition. London, 1866.

‡ Father of Mr. Arnold Forster, M.P.

successes of Mrs. Humphrey Ward not being visible to her uncle's prophetic soul. Certainly, "Oakfield" is dead and buried: it was never very successful as a story; yet there could be no doubt as to the author's honest, if unflattering, view of Anglo-Indian Society, or what he called "Fellowship in the East." He soon left the army for educational work, and died young, leaving a son, the energetic military reformer known to the present generation, and worthily representing two distinguished names. All these books have a distinct social interest and importance: though it is rather the general tone of Anglo-Indian Society that they represent than that of any special department of the Company's service. In one respect, at least, it may be hoped that Anglo-Indian administration has made a great advance under the Empress. Inspired by the influences of public opinion and of improved civilisation, greater earnestness may be well supposed to have established itself; and with it a diminution of selfishness and injustice in high places. In the times of Miss Eden, say in the first twenty years of the late reign, the officers entrusted with civil charges in the Indian mofussils could not, unless protected by strong interest, rely on Governmental recognition, or expect to prosper in direct ratio to their merits and deserts. It would be a strong indication of ignorance of the world if one were to assume that all men became perfect in wisdom and in virtue, by wriggling from stool to stool in a Government office; on the other hand, it would be absurd to argue that these merits are hopelessly excluded from the arena of an official hierarchy. But the familiar instances of Sir D. Ochterlony in 1825 and of William Tayler in 1857 are enough to show the powers of a bureaucracy, and the occasional lapses from justice to which it may be liable. Failures of another sort were always possible where the civilians of the old school had lost touch with the people. The Orissa Famine of 1866 is a case in point. Its treatment, according to a most loyal supporter of the Indian Government in general, "left a deep stain on the reputation of the Bengal authorities." [Marshman.]

Admissions of this kind, it must be remembered, do not necessarily involve the character of the whole body of men turned out from the Company's College. Some were hard bargains indeed; men who would never have got into the Service but for the favour of their patrons and the unwillingness of the Principal to ruin their careers; but even of these there were some brave and honest men who made an excellent use of their slender faculties and powers in times of stress like the Mutiny. Others, of a more disciplined and plodding order, rose in the Secretariat to become conscientious, if somewhat formal, Ministers and Lieutenant-Governors.

All honour to the men who founded and consolidated the Great "Empire of the middle classes," and to those who rule it at the present hour. The provincial staff has always been devoted and earnest; while the central authorities, if not free from the temptations of their place, have generally held and followed a high ideal of duty.

The writer of these pages may perhaps incur the charge of egotism: his only excuse is that what he has to say, about the Company's College and the Service which it engendered, is based upon direct personal testimony. As readers of Mr. Lowell will remember, his name is given as of one not only trained at Haileybury but actually born there; including his father's traditions, his memory covers a period extending from 1824—when the College was but fifteen years old—to the time when he left it in 1847. In the former of these years his father had lately settled there as Professor of Arabic and Persian; and amongst his colleagues were several distinguished men—Cobbett's "Parson Malthus" and C. W. Lebas, a divine of the *via media*; presently after came J. A. Jeremie, in later years Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, with others whose names would convey little meaning now, but who nevertheless were good men in their time; law was taught by Empson, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The period was not exciting. In the earlier years the throne was occupied by that mediæval roué, George IV., a monarch who had but little influence on the affairs of India or of the Company beyond originating the appointment of Lord Moira to be Governor-General. Before coming to the royal title George IV. had for about ten years been Regent; and it was during the Regency that the Company's charter came up for renewal, not without much preliminary discussion or patronage in Parliament and in the Press. Already, in 1806, a staff of teachers had been selected by the Court of Directors, and a training-school for the aspirants to Indian administration had been opened in Hertford Castle, to be transferred to Haileybury—a small manor about two miles off—some three years later. At first little more was proposed than a seminary "for the reception of students at the age of fifteen, to remain till they are eighteen, or till they are sent by the Court to their respective destination." The academical character of the College was not finally determined until 1813.

During the discussions preliminary to the renewal of the charter in that year the question of nomination to the Indian Civil Service had been among the points debated. And Lord Grenville—one of Pitt's ablest followers, kept out of office by his liberal opinions—made a pro-

posal which in some degree anticipated the modern system of Competitive Examination. He refused to allow that the retention of this valuable patronage by the Company's Directors was the only alternative to its being made an engine of political corruption. That, indeed, might have been the rock on which the ship split in Fox's charge thirty years before—as no one knew better than Grenville who had been a party to the wreck. What he now suggested was that the nominations should be taken out of the hands of the Company, not to be transferred to the Board of Control or any other organ of the Government, but to be offered to a competition among the boys at public schools; and the selected candidates were to receive their training not at a special College like Haileybury, but at the National Universities among youths of their class.

The danger passed, the Company's charter was renewed without detriment to the power of nomination. By the Act of 1813 the College obtained parliamentary recognition and acquired the status of an academy of adult students in caps and gowns, on a similar footing to one of the Colleges in the Universities. No person, it was provided, should be sent out in the Service who had not passed two years at the College; and the minimum age for entrance was fixed at seventeen.

Such was the condition of the College when the writer's father joined in 1824: shortly after he was made Registrar—much the same office as that of the Bursar at Oxford. His lodging was in a commodious house on the northern side of the quadrangle in the upper part of which was fixed the College clock: and in this house his eldest son, the present writer, was born. The principal in those days was a distinguished Cambridge man who had been third Wrangler and fellow of Trinity, the Rev. Joseph Hallett Batten, D.D., Fellow of the Royal Society, who had begun his connection with the college as Professor of Classics. This accomplished man, whose house was at the S.-W. angle next the chapel, held office no less than three-and-twenty years; and under him were trained most of the men who made the great reputation of the Company's Service, among others being Mr. James Thomason, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and Lord Lawrence, "the Saviour of India."

If the Reverend Professor of Arabic had less academical distinction to show than Dr. Batten, he had seen a great deal more of the world. Originally a soldier, Mr. Keene had borne part, under Arthur Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, in the short campaign which ended in the fall of Tippoo Sultan and the usurping dynasty of Mysore. Afterwards entering the College of Fort William, where the civilians

were trained before the establishment of Haileybury, he passed a few years in the Madras Civil Service. He retired on an invalid pension, and entered Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Fellow Commoner in 1810; became a man of some note as an orientalist, and graduated in honours, ultimately becoming a fellow of his College, which involved his being ordained a clergyman of the Anglican Church. After the fall of Napoleon he made a tour in Europe with Lord Mahon, afterwards Earl Stanhope, F.R.S., the well-known historian; finally settling down in England to contest the Arabic Chair at Cambridge and, on being defeated by the eminent Hebraist, Dr. Samuel Lee, obtained the appointment at Haileybury as already stated.*

One's earliest memory of the College is thus different from that of most others, having been received from the point of view offered by a Professor's house. It is somewhat obliterated, no doubt, by the later recollections of a student, like an old MS. obscured on a Palimpsest. Only two aspects are left at all distinct: one of a general complaint of lawlessness; the other of a certain atmosphere of good old-world social life. Instances of the latter occur in connection with some frequency. Miss Martineau used to come to Haileybury as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Malthus; we exchanged visits with Lord John Townshend, of Balls, an old *viveur* of the days of Fitzpatrick, Fox, and the Dandies; on the occasion of terminal inspections we saw Sir Charles Wilkins, who had known Warren Hastings and Sir William Jones, having been one of the early members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the eighteenth century. Francis Jeffrey used to appear at Empson's, who had married Jeffrey's daughter. As for the students, a certain element of apprehension was certainly not altogether absent; although some of them had been tamed so far as to be admitted to the Professors' houses, the results were not always quite satisfactory. A young man, afterwards a decorous—and indeed decorated—member of the Indian Government, went to Gorham-bury races; and returning late at night availed himself of his knowledge of our premises to let himself in by the kitchen-window and enter the College quadrangle by unlocking our front-door from within. Occasionally the conduct of these young libertines assumed a wilder license. One evening, when Mrs. Lebas had been at our house, my father was escorting her to the sedan-chair, which awaited her at the door, when he was forcibly restrained by some of the students who had been of the party. In another moment was heard a loud explosion; and the sedan-

* See Article in Vol. XXX of the "Dictionary of National Biography."

chair was hoisted into the air, a charge of gunpowder having been placed in a drain-pipe and fired just as the good lady was stepping into her vehicle. She escaped with a fright; and I fear that my father never disclosed the identity of his well-wishers whose favourable intervention must have betrayed a guilty knowledge. At another time, when the infant who has since developed into the present old babbler was lying in his cradle, a huge boulder came crashing through the nursery-window and lodged on the arched top of the basinette. On hearing the nurse's outcry my father rushed out into the quadrangle—to find two or three students, who apologised for the fractured pane on the ground that the clock was too fast and they had no means of correction but by throwing stones at the hands. One of the most lawless of the students of that time is said to have been named John Lawrence, who entered in 1827. He obtained a nomination vacated by the late Charles Merivale, who died Dean of Ely, and who was wont to say that, as the cause of Lawrence's appointment he, Merivale, was the real Saviour of India.

CHAPTER II.

OLD HAILEYBURY (*continued*).

The second quarter of the nineteenth century brought many changes to the College. Amongst the deaths the most noticeable were those of Mr. Malthus and Dr. Batten. The former was succeeded in the Chair of Political Economy ("Polly Con," as the young men said) by the Rev. Richard Jones, a Poor Law Commissioner and a writer of some temporary authority on the subject of Rent. The demise of Dr. Batten, a few years later, left the post of Principal open to the Dean, Mr. Lebas, in whose hands the discipline of the College is believed to have somewhat suffered. Before his accession, however, our direct knowledge of the matter had ceased, my father having retired in 1834.

The personal peculiarities which made Lebas an inadequate ruler of turbulent youths, fully aware of the immunities which they derived from the protection of their patrons, are stated by Mr. Stephens with much frankness in the volume cited above: and one's own recollection of the worthy gentleman is in general agreement with what is stated by him. In appearance Mr. Lebas somewhat resembled Charles Lamb; with a smooth, low comedy countenance, an undersized figure, and little legs clothed in shorts and black gaiters. Add to this that he was very hard of hearing, with a high, uncontrolled voice, and a quaint way of interlarding his talk with Latin quotations and words that he himself would

probably have styled "sesquipedalian." For example, I remember going to Brighton just after passing out of college after several false starts : one day I walked to the Post Office to put a letter into the box ; there was a bit of a crowd at the window ; and out of the crowd behind me I heard a shrill cry—

" Well, Sir, so you've got out at last : I congratulate you. *Post tot nan fragiatutus !*"

It was the ex-Principal, who had chosen Brighton for his residence, and who, coming on a like errand with myself, had recognised me as I stood before him and crowed the classic greeting. Sir M. Monier-Williams mentions his rebuking some of the stone-throwers of the Quad., by reminding them that it was forbidden to "lithobolise" there : and a case was on record in which, sending for a student who had been reported to have given a wine-party on a Sunday evening, "the Prin"—as he was called—added the special reproach :—

"And I understand, Sir, that you were the *Corypheus* of this unhallowed assemblage."

Lebas had just ceased to govern when I entered the college as a student ; but I had found him there the year before when I visited it from Oxford. On that occasion I dined at the high table in Hall, and was honoured with a seat next to the Principal. During dinner our attention was pretty well occupied ; but in a pause he curved his hand over his ear and loudly demanded :—"How is your grandmother, Sir?"

"She's dead, Sir," was my reply.

Before the cloth was drawn occurred another pause, during which the courteous but forgetful old man again asked me the same question. From the pitch of his voice all in the neighbourhood were now roused : and, amid the curious gaze of surrounding professors, waiters, and students, he presently added in some impatience—"I'm asking about your grandmother." Thus urged, I too had to raise my voice as I gave the only possible answer—"She's still dead."*

When I got my nomination to the College the good old mannerist was gone, having been succeeded by Henry Melvill, brother of the Secretary to the India House. The Principal's name is probably not very familiar now ; but Melvill was a well-known man at the time—genial, strong, and eloquent, the Chrysostom of Evangelicalism. Jeremie had succeeded Lebas when the latter was promoted from Dean to Principal : and he was understood to feel resentment at not being made his successor

* By a droll coincidence this *niaiserie* was reproduced by a popular comedian nearly half a century later, as will be found recorded in a subsequent chapter.

now. Empson was still lecturing on Law and Morals, in other words pouring out an indistinct torrent of utilitarian philosophy, in which morsels of common law, statute, civil law, and equity came floating along *in gurgite vasto*. Jones held forth on rent, land tenures and Indian History, an awful but grotesque figure, with a bloated red face surmounted by a chestnut wig. It is hardly needful to add that the student who chose to attend carefully and continuously at the lecture-rooms of these able teachers soon found his account in so doing: the ludicrous element was superficial, the solid value of the well-digested information could not be denied. The way of it was this. The Professor undertook to explain certain authoritative text-books, and expected the students to take notes of what he said. At the end of the term those who had taken such notes intelligently and without interruption could submit them to the Professor for inspection, after which there would be a general examination of the class, the questions being based upon the course that had been delivered during the term. Bad work was denoted by the letter L., printed against one's name, the better performances being labelled G., or Gt., and a handsome prize of books, or a silver medal, awarded to the best. L. meant "little progress," while G. and Gt. stood respectively for "good" and "great." I may illustrate the system by stating what occurred at the end of a term between Mr. Jones and a student who found that attendance at the Professor's lectures interfered with breakfast, and who, therefore, contented himself with studying the text-book and reading up the notes taken by one of his friends. When the examination was over Jones sent for the young man and bluntly accused him of having copied his papers from other men's work. "You could not have sent in such a paper otherwise, as you have not been at any of my lectures." On the young man repudiating the charge and explaining his *modus operandi*, Jones offered alternatives; either the paper should be marked G. or the student might undergo a special *viva-voce* examination, in which—as the Professor hinted—his ignorance would be soon brought to light, the exact words of his warning taking the unclerical form of "Don't you be a d—d fool." Rightly surmising that Jones would resent the trouble of a special examination, the young man shrewdly answered:—

"Well, Sir, I have told you the truth, and cannot do better than leave myself in your hands."

The kindly Professor ultimately awarded the mark of Gt., to which the intrinsic quality of the work was admitted to have established a title.

During the three years of my student-life at the old College the times were tranquil. The Afghan War was just over ; the main excitement of the country—always excitable—was over 'Maynooth and the common laws ; and both questions were earnestly discussed amongst us youngsters, mainly from the high Tory point of view. Our life was joyous rather than wilfully insubordinate ; and the authorities for most part connived at little irregularities conceived in that spirit. We had a Debating Society in which the Conservative majority was led by Temple, since distinguished as Governor of Bombay and Vice-Chairman of the London School Board. The Liberals were best represented by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, known to later times as President of the Association for Promoting International Arbitration. Besides the Debating Society there was a Social Club—the "Wellesley"—which was a little exclusive and jealously guarded the admission to its limited ranks. We had a "chartered toast," accompanied by a song with the refrain, "A Health to the Marquess, God bless him !" This posthumous homage to a long-departed Governor-General was celebrated by help of a grand silver cup filled with generous portwine, and had, probably, more effect on our own health than on that of the deceased ! But the practical result was that we constituted ourselves a medium of communication between the College and the World, and assumed the duty of entertaining distinguished visitors to Haileybury.

It will be understood that all such revelry was against rules ; and the authorities had ample means of control in the system of nightly inspection carried on by the servants. There was but one entrance to the College quadrangle from without, namely, the western gate facing the London road. Here was installed a janitor—Wiltshire by name—whose duty it was to lock up at sunset and enter in his book the names of all students entering after a certain hour. We were then supposed to pass the evenings in our rooms, absorbed in study either solitary or shared with an equally assiduous comrade ; and, at the hour assigned for retirement, one of the staff went round knocking at each door with the question—"Alone, Sir ?" If this was sometimes answered by a cheerful chorus of convivial voices no evil consequences usually resulted.

The relaxation of rules hereby involved was mainly due to the progress of time and the mitigating action of experience. In the earlier constitution of the College it had been intended that discipline should be administered by the collective body of the Professors sitting in Council. But in Melvill's day the power and responsibility had been consolidated in the hands of the Principal: and his ability, good nature and genial

hospitality had combined to give him great and beneficial influence. It is not too much to say that the more valuable features of academic discipline had been greatly strengthened by the apparent relaxation of vigour which ensued.

I recollect an instance of the tact with which Melvill turned aside what might have proved a dangerous blow to the well-being of the College, or, at least, to that of some of its alumni. It occurred in this wise. A number of the students had combined their resources for the purchase of a billiard-table which, with due fittings and appurtenances, had been erected in the old Rye-House, famous as the scene of Rumbold's abortive plot against the life of King Charles II., on the opposite shore of the river Lea—which was here crossed by a road-bridge. There was an inn much frequented by cockney-anglers, and used by members of the College addicted to boating and bathing in the river. The inn-keeper having failed, the estate passed into the hands of Trustees in Bankruptcy who attached our billiard-table, etc., as forming part of the assets. In vain we pointed out the hardship of this, seeing that the property obviously did not belong to the estate. The solicitor to the Trustees would only answer that he found the names of many of the students on the inn-books as debtors for dinners and drinks; he would therefore hold the things as security for such claims until we could prove our case in Court. On receiving this ultimatum we resolved to break the lien asserted to exist by carrying off the property, fortified, as we were, by the opinion of counsel that, if it were once taken out of the possession of the Trustees, all such claims would lapse.* Accordingly, one dark November night, we went down with a wagon and carried off the table, with cues, balls, lamps, and furniture, depositing them in a friendly quarter at Ware. As soon as Mr. Murray, the man in possession, discovered the loss, he proceeded to the residence of the nearest Magistrate, to whom (in spite of the late hour) he insisted on relating the case with a demand for warrants on a charge of burglary. Among the members of the Club were some who afterwards filled high offices in the Indian Empire; but the only men whom Mr. Murray could identify were the writer of these lines and the present Marquess of Tweeddale—then Lord William Hay—and in their names accordingly were the nocturnal warrants made out. On the following morning, Murray presented himself at Wiltshire's gates, demanding execution of these warrants; but Wiltshire would only refer him to the Principal. Melvill accordingly sent for Hay and myself, and con-

* Our learned friend was no other than the late Mr. Thomas Paynter, at that time one of the London Police Magistrates!

cealing Murray behind a door proceeded to ask us for an explanation. On hearing the facts, the good Principal broke into a hearty fit of laughter and dismissed us. We heard no more of the warrants, could only presume that our Principal had sent Murray away in accordance with the Horatian moral—

"Solvuntur risu tabulæ—tu missurabis."

My connection with the College ceased in 1846; and of its later fortunes I have no personal experience: but a pleasant picture has been supplied by Mr. E. Lockwood, who was a student there in the years immediately preceding the discontinuance of the system to which it owed existence. Discipline and training appear to have gone on improving, and the men turned out during those closing years were perhaps up to even higher general level than had hitherto been usual. A few—notably Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Auckland Colvin—lived to earn distinction in many important fields and to become, in a most conspicuous degree, Men of the Time.

The conclusion arrived at by Messrs. Lowell and Stephens is remarkable, opposed as it is to modern ideas, however supported by the facts.

"It appears clearly," says Mr. Stephens, "from this story of the patronage system of the E. I. Company as to appointment . . . that patronage, when checked by training at a special College entered only after a qualifying examination, produces results not inferior to open competitive examination. . . Most clearly of all is it proved that the chief advantage of such a College as Haileybury lay not so much in the actual instruction afforded as in the association together of young men intended for a career in common in which they specially needed the traditions of a noble service."

In the earlier portion of the work Mr. Lowell applies these and similar considerations to the support of his proposal that American Colonial work should be entrusted to young men specially prepared. In any case it is presumable that the people of the United States would never agree to the adoption of a system under which an over-educated Bengali can be sent to govern Sikhs or Afridis, and the administration of an important colonial seaport be entrusted to a full-blooded buck Negro.

The stress laid by the authors on the association of the young men is by no means exaggerated. Not only were traditions of honourable duty established, but the corporate spirit fostered was on the whole beneficial. And these things were perhaps more practically useful than all the book-learning in the world.

No properly-informed person will contend that old Haileybury was

an ideal place of education, or deny that, in comparison with other institutions, it was a rather lath-and-plaster Temple of the Muses. All that can be claimed for it is, perhaps, that it answered the purpose for which it was intended and that it went on improving itself to the last. The declared intention was to provide a place where young men of a certain solid class, after giving proofs of good character and attainments, should live together for a time and receive instruction in certain branches of knowledge which would be useful to them in the career which they had undertaken. Whatever protection may have attended the sons and nephews of the Directors after they had become students at the College, the entrance examinations at least were conducted by competent and impartial scholars: and it was my personal conviction—going up as I did from Oxford—that a knowledge of the required subjects would have more than sufficed to ensure a University Degree. Nor, indeed, was the ordeal without its terrors; some candidates abstained from presenting themselves and were consoled by commissions in the Company's Army: while others only qualified themselves by the aid of special trainers, amongst whom I particularly remember hearing of a Mr. Rowsell, by whom several of my contemporaries were prepared to face the examiners.

This ordeal once passed, with certain satisfaction of the Court in regard to moral character, the youths entered the College and became exposed to temptations incidental to their age and circumstances. The defect in sanction, arising from the known reluctance to blight a protégé's career, has been already shown; but it would be quite a mistake to infer that the students' progress was neglected or that they were usually sent to their important work in India as perfect dunces. The nature of two of the "European" courses—Political Economy and Law—has been already mentioned; other subjects were equally attended to. Jeremie lectured in the Library, expounding Plato and Cicero with a wide and various apparatus of illustration. Heaviside—afterwards Canon of Norwich—taught science, or some branch of applied mathematics. In the Oriental side we had Francis Johnson, Editor of Richardson's Arabic Dictionary, and Monier-Williams, afterwards Boden Professor at Oxford. Eastwick and Ouseley looked after Urdu and Persian, provision being also made for the languages of Madras and Bombay.

Nor was all this a mere show. Eminent scholars came down to test our work at the end of each term, or what was known as "Dis" Day. In the terminal Examinations a certain number of L. marks involved the loss of the term; and the loss of two consecutive terms vacated one's appointment. If after all precautions, a dunce did occasionally succeed

in getting to India, he was not always a bad fellow for rough work : in any case he had not made culture an industry or learned to loathe books like a grocer's boy surfeited with figs. Clearly the names recorded in this book of Messrs. Lowell and Stephens are enough to show that old Haileybury was quite able to turn out men whose reputation extended even beyond the limits of India. Competition has probably raised the general level of knowledge ; it has not yet produced better scholars than Brian Hodgson, or better statesmen than John Lawrence.

(To be continued.)

H. G. KEENE.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The Revival of Jainism.

The author of the "History of Rationalism in Europe" has divided the most important of human philosophies into two classes—the ascetic and the industrial. The watchword of the first is mortification, that of the second development. "The first seeks to diminish, the second to multiply desires: the first, acknowledging happiness as a condition of the mind, endeavours to attain it by acting directly on the mind, the second by acting on surrounding circumstances." India is the home of ascetic philosophies. When ritualistic religion was at the zenith of its influence, the Brahman claimed that in consequence of the spiritual training which his avocation gave him he alone was peculiarly fitted for the attainment of that bliss for which an ascetic life was the necessary preparation. With the growth of the rationalistic spirit, his monopoly was contested, and such was the bitterness with which the exclusive claim of the Brahman was resented that the followers of Mahavira taught, in the words of the Kalpa Sutra, that "it never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen that Arhats, Chakravartins, Baladevas or Vasudevas, in the past, present or future, should be born in low families, poor families, or Brahmanical families!" Therefore, Mahavira, originally conceived in the womb of a Brahman mother, was transferred by the gods to that of a Kshatriya mother. The philosophy of the Brahman, the Buddhist and the Jain was essentially the same in making the Mind the real seat of happiness. "He is dear to me," says Krishna, "who is alike to friend and foe, in honour and dishonour, in cold and heat, in pleasure and pain; who is taciturn, contented with anything that comes to him, who is homeless, steady-minded, full of faith, and to whom censure and praise are the same." The Dhammapada

preaches a like philosophy when it says that "all that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts: it is made up of our thoughts." The Jain Sūtras commend the monk "who is insensible to pleasure and pain and who sustains the insults and blows of the world as a rock is not shaken by the wind." The attainment of this ideal being difficult while pursuing the ordinary avocations of the work-a-day world, those who aspired after it lived a life of ascetic seclusion and necessarily supported themselves by begging. The Brahman Bhikshus did not at first organise themselves into corporate bodies or congregations, while the Buddhist and Jain ascetic orders followed a different policy. They lived in groups in monasteries, they developed their own schools of philosophy and gathered around themselves followers whom they induced to accept their tenets in preference to the teachings of other schools. The Nirgranthas, corresponding to the sky-clad section of modern Jains, had already an influential following when Gautama Buddha and his disciples were engaged in extending theirs; they had men-preachers and women-preachers, and some of the most influential converts to Buddhism in its early days were originally the followers of Mahavira. The prejudice against them arose from the grotesque extremity to which they carried their ascetic practices. Visakha, a rich and learned lady, who was originally a patron of the Nirgranthas, could not bear the sight of the naked ascetics, and she transferred her allegiance to the Buddhists; her husband and other relations held out for a time, but eventually succumbed to her influence. Amongst the Mahavirites themselves there was a reaction, and the rule was laid down: "To a naked monk the thought occurs: 'I can bear the pricking of grass, the influence of cold and heat, the stinging of flies and mosquitos; but I cannot bear the privation of a cloth.' Then he may wear a piece of cloth." This was a wise relaxation of the practice. The altruism of the Jain monk was no less rigorous than his asceticism. He was to destroy no life, not even of a plant. The Brahman Bhikshu too was enjoined to strain the water of a well or tank before drinking it, to keep out living things, and not to take parts of plants and trees except such as have become detached spontaneously. But the Jain monk carried his life-saving scruples much further. What is more, he infected the lay community with his soft-heartedness to

an extent not attempted by priest or ascetic of any other community. However difficult it may be in practice to relinquish all but the alms-bowl and the water-vessel, the rope and the cloth for straining water, and to injure no living creature, whatever provocation it may offer, there is something peculiarly captivating about a philosophy which lifts the mind into the serene heights of calm contemplation and unruffled repose, and inculcates love, "Creation's final law, though Nature, red in tooth and claw with ravine, shrieks against the creed." The truth that triumphs cannot calculate: it must magnify itself or be lost in the prevailing commonplace. Argument incites, while martyrdom enthral. What the cross and the fagot did for the religion of the Galilean, that nudity and the broom did for the philosophy of the Tirthakaras. Its logical consistency overcame the Brahman; its invincible humanity subdued the heart of the Kshatriya, though the scrupulous ascetic was rather shy of his presence and even enjoined that "a monk or a nun on a begging-tour should not accept food in the houses of Kshatriyas, kings, and messengers and relations of kings, whether they are inside or outside, or invite them"; the Sudra could not easily be induced to fortify his muscle by a vegetable diet. Jainism was a religion peculiarly suited to the Vaishyas: their wealth made them independent of the Brahman and the Kshatriya, while their occupation could be easily carried on with a physical frame built up largely of gentle sugar and innocent ghee. For centuries Jainism was predominant, from the deserts of Rajputana to the banks of the Tamraparni. What potency was there in that serene smile and unfathomable composure of the Arhan! It illumined the mind of the poet and the philosopher, and the wealth of pious and scholastic erudition that lies hidden away in the recesses of Jain libraries has yet to be fully brought to light by the oriental scholar; it sustained the creative ardour and guided the patient chisel of the faithful sculptor, and the many-pillared fanes and the giant images reared by him defy the effacing hand of Time, even as the Kevalins defied the slings and arrows of wordly circumstance. But what can be more uncertain than man's loyalty to an opinion? When he has sucked the honey out of one flower he hankers after another: he must renew and replace, reform and transform: to one creed is he constant never. Tradition speaks of the persecution of the Jains by Hindus, but a sect which

retains its power and vitality cannot be annihilated by persecution. It must already have been tottering when the persecution, such as there was—for the accounts of it are much exaggerated—probably hastened its extinction here and there. Its decadence must be ascribed for the most part to its inherent defects and to its inability to compete with the reviving Hinduism. Jainism, like its rival Buddhism, committed one fatal mistake: its priesthood—the monks—had no organic connection with the lay community. These monks worshipped in temples, expounded the religion in the appointed places, and begged at the doors of the laity. But they did not mingle with the lay community as freely as Brahman priests do, officiating at all their domestic and religious ceremonies, living with them, watching their conduct, threatening relapses with punishment. It appears to be not uncommon at least in Western India for Brahman priests to officiate at Jain marriages! In Gujarat the Jains are said to intermarry with Vaishnava castes, "getting wives for themselves and securing husbands for their women-folk in the distant towns of adoption and at the same time extending their business relations and influence among the people generally, living peacefully with their neighbours, without intruding their religion on people of a different persuasion." These practices do not seem to be altogether recent. The social commerce between the Jain and Hindu communities was probably from very early times such as to admit of the absorption of the members of the one into the other. When the Jain monk lost his original reputation for piety, character and learning, when the Brahman accommodated his public worship, his sacred lore and his moral teachings to the requirements of the Jain, when, in fact, Jainism fulfilled its mission, the way was paved for its gradual exit from history and the re-appearance of Brahmanism.

At the last census there were 1,334,148 Jains in India, of whom 536,136 were in the Bombay Presidency, and 342,595 were in Rajputana. The old missionary zeal has died out among them, and for the present even those who wish for a revival of the pristine purity and power of their creed do not seem to cherish the ambition of enlarging their community by fresh accessions. They are, however, anxious to arrest the further decadence of the sect, to conserve all that is good and noble in their splendid heritage, and to adapt their customs to their new surroundings. To adopt suitable measures

towards this end, a Conference of Jains met last year at Fulod in Rajputana. The second Conference was held last month in Bombay. To preserve Jain temples and images from decay; to save literary manuscripts from the maws of white ants and to publish the ancient literature for the benefit of the community and of the world; to inculcate Jain principles and prevent the inroad of forbidden practices; to promote education; to discourage injurious and irrational customs, such as early marriage, ruinous expenditure on certain ceremonial occasions, breast-beating at funerals &c.—these are among the objects of the new movement. Five thousand Jains attended the Conference at Bombay, and the enthusiasm bids fair to last and to bear practical fruit. Understood with rational limitations and in the real spirit of its teachings, Jainism has a message to deliver to the world, and if the new movement succeeds in first reforming the community itself, even its missionary zeal may revive in the fulness of time. The Jains are divided into many castes, but although these do not intermarry, they can interdine. In this respect they are much in advance of the Hindu community: indeed, when it is remembered how intermarriages are prevented even in the West by social and national considerations, and how rigorously caste is enforced in the Hindu fold, it may be said that what remains of caste among Jains is little more than what human nature will always insist upon. The political economist has a rooted prejudice against Buddhists and Jains because of the monastic institutions maintained by them and the waste of human power which the system necessarily involves from a temporal point of view. The same objection to monasticism was felt in the West, and Sir Thomas Moore made the Religious Orders of Utopia a body devoted not to learning but to servile employments. “Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stone. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessities on carts into their towns; nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do: for if there is anywhere a rough, hard and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labour and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully and of their own accord take that to their share and by that means, as they ease others very much,

so they afflict themselves and spend their whole life in hard labour: and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments they are so far from being despised that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation." This may be a Utopian dream, but it shows that a monastic order is not necessarily an evil: it may be a blessing to the community if it employs itself in useful activities. Our utilitarian age will tolerate no mendicant orders: the Founder of an Order of Working Monks and Nuns has yet to incarnate in the land of Buddha and Mahavira. At present the distinctive teaching of Jainism is the strictest possible adherence to the biological commandment: Thou shalt not kill. The world laughs at it now. He laughs who wins, says the man of the world: he laughs who is wise, says the Jain. The Jain is so called because he has conquered Self. He who conquers Self conquers the world.

CURRENT EVENTS.

A month ago it would have been thought that a Conservative Ministry without Mr. Chamberlain would be like the play of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark in it. The delay that has occurred in filling up the places of the Ministers who have resigned is probably due to the difficulty experienced in finding proper substitutes for them, though it is reported that a contributory cause of it is the King's desire to use his prerogative in making the appointments. Yet it is evident that His Majesty and Mr. Balfour are agreed that Mr. Chamberlain is not an indispensable man to the country. The result of the inquest held by the Prime Minister does not appear to have been made public, unless perhaps it is contained in his pamphlet, which has not yet reached this country. As Mr. Balfour, according to report, is of opinion that England is not prepared for Preferential Tariffs, and Mr. Chamberlain complains of the unscrupulous use made of the cry of "dear loaf," it may be presumed that the inquest has gone against Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Ritchie's silence precludes one from surmising what light the inquest has thrown on the attitude of the nation towards Free Trade. But Mr. Balfour's pronouncement, coupled with the secessions that have taken place, may perhaps be taken to indicate that England is heaving anchor from the Free Trade harbour. Whither she will be

drifted it is difficult to conjecture. Mr. Balfour's piloting is evidently intended to mitigate the alarm raised by Cobdenites, and not primarily and definitely to steer the country away from Mr. Chamberlain's scheme.



If Mr. Chamberlain's object is to unite the various parts of the Empire by means of fiscal bonds, Mr. Balfour's readiness to go so far as to retaliate on countries aiming at British commerce may serve the same purpose, though perhaps not in an equal degree. For if the whole Empire combines in avenging the wrongs, or the supposed ones, of any one unit, this must establish a moral obligation on the part of all the units to stand by one another. Russia has raised the duty on Ceylon and Indian tea imported through its European frontier or by way of the Black Sea, and it is said that a Conference at the Foreign Office is to consider this action on the part of Russia. Here is an opportunity for the Balfour Ministry to try the expediency of negotiation, and if that does not answer, to make common cause with India in any retaliatory action that may commend itself according to the new policy which Mr. Balfour is said to favour.



Mr. Chamberlain's agitation has done one useful service to India: it has enabled us to reiterate the question, now with greater force than ever, why India should not have a fiscal policy of her own as the Colonies have theirs, and why our policy should be subordinated to the interests of British manufacturers. While reducing the salt duty in March last, Sir Edward Law referred to the possibility of raising it once more if the demands on the exchequer should unfortunately increase. But we may well ask why we should have recourse to such a retrograde measure, and why we should not increase the duty on imported cotton fabrics, without imposing a countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures. If the strictest school of Free-traders call it protection, it is not a kind of protection to which England has not already given her sanction, though by the abolition of the duty on corn she has quickly withdrawn from it.



We hope, indeed, that no occasion may arise to ask ourselves whether the remitted duty should be re-imposed or low import duties should be enhanced. It is not our wish, nor does it conduce to our interest, that England's prosperity should in any degree diminish or her power should be weakened. The fiscal issues raised by the Colonies and Mr. Chamberlain have tended more to stir up bad blood than to nourish the Imperial sentiment. India will be proud to be instrumental, as in the past so in the future, in advancing the material prosperity of Great Britain, and loyally to reciprocate

the sentiment which shoots like a thread of gold through our *Magna Charta*: "In their prosperity lies our strength." But so long as there are persons who will support a motion such as Mr. Shackleton brought forward during the Indian Budget debate, for example, we cannot rest in the assurance that our prosperity will always be felt to be the principal care in quarters where it ought to be so regarded.



The twentieth century will be a century of itinerant statesmanship. Every European potentate peregrinates on no specially defined mission, but on the general mission of creating or preserving good understanding between nations. If such be the utility of royal tours in the West, how much more should we expect of similar parades and demonstrations in the East! Lord Curzon has profound faith in them. He has travelled in Native States and moved gloriously along the horizon of frontier States. What impression will his appearance in the Persian Gulf not produce on his Majesty the Shah—the moth that has been hovering round the Russian lamp! But why should India pay the expense of a demonstration in the Persian Gulf, where there is no port within the jurisdiction of the Indian Government? We suppose, however, it will not be much, especially if these little things are remembered in casting the account between England and India.



It is not uncommon for justice to miscarry in cases tried by juries. But when most of the jurors belong to the same race as the accused person; what would otherwise pass unnoticed excites feelings far from conducive to cordiality between the races that Providence has brought together in India. Hence it was wise on the part of Lord Elgin to have ordered that among matters of importance to be telegraphed to the Government of India by officers under Local Governments should be included collisions between Europeans and Natives. It is not equally easy to answer the question whether in cases of miscarriage of justice in the lower courts, the Local Governments should be allowed absolute discretion to appeal to a higher tribunal, or whether the Government of India should interfere. If the matter is of sufficient importance to report to the Government of India, it seems to follow that that Government should be entitled to interfere when a Local Government fails in its duty. Members of Local Governments being too near the scene of offence, they may often feel disinclined to brave the odium that cannot but attach to the insistence upon the prosecution of a man who has once been let off altogether or with a light sentence. Thus the present practice appears wholesome and justified by the circumstances of the country. It may, however, be admitted that the Government of India should not interfere too often. The urgency of each case must depend

upon its own circumstances, but surely where the injury which is brought home to an accused person has resulted in loss of life, the Government, if it errs, should err on the side of interference rather than on the side of acquiescence. In what is known as the Bain case, the Government of India is denounced for having ordered an appeal against the acquittal of the accused on the graver charges, when the Local Government was unwilling to do so. But when two Judges of the Calcutta High Court thought fit to order a retrial, it can hardly be charged to the Government that it ordered the appeal to those Judges. It is because the Judge who was to have held the trial followed a strange procedure and discharged the accused that it is found so easy to condemn the conduct of Government.



In most cases when assault by soldiers proves fatal, it is found that the deceased native had an enlarged spleen. Is it not possible to order that servants with enlarged spleens should not be employed in barracks ?



The only peace that seems possible in Macedonia is the peace that comes of exhaustion. The Powers advise Turkey, on the one hand, to carry out the reforms recommended by Austria and Russia, and threaten Bulgaria, on the other, that she should not expect any assistance from them if she rushes into war. Meanwhile, both Governments are actively preparing for war. No reform can do real good when it is enforced at the point of the bayonet : it will be sincere only when it is spontaneous. Either Turkey must have a ruler who is more than ordinarily forgiving and forbearing, and who can win the love of his hostile and high-mettled subjects, or they must be kept at a low point of vitality by constant bleeding. The only peace that the Powers can ensure for the present is war in retail.

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THEOSOPHY.

IN my first article in *East & West* for March, I attempted to show what Theosophy is not, by clearing away the damaging preconceptions arising in the popular estimate out of a too intimate association of Theosophy with a certain group of persons who put themselves prominently forward as its apostles. Theosophy cannot be and ought not to be identified with any individual; it is not the invention of any human mind standing alone; but like science, in another province of human growth, the gathered and tested experience, psychological experience for the most part, of all the best, most spiritual minds that have appeared to be the guides and comforters of men. If in our own times a few individuals, some of them possessed most unquestionably of the highest talents, but also displaying many gross and deplorable infirmities alike of character, intellect and method, sought to re-kindle in the West a light that had begun to burn dimly under the accumulation of materialistic forces and the strongest antagonistic currents of thought, setting towards formalism in preference to the realities under formalism, it is surely unjust and unphilosophical to jump to the conclusion that the light itself must necessarily be bad, because those who raised it were full of imperfections. Who thinks of identifying the character of a torch-bearer with the quality of the torch he bears? It will probably be objected that this is a false and misleading analogy, when applied in the field of Religion. It is a peculiarity of religious teaching that to command the adhesion of the masses it must be exactly reflected in the character of the teacher. It is impossible to conceive that the religions bearing the names of Buddha and Christ, for example, would ever have taken the hold they did; and have played the part they did in moulding human destinies, had Christ or Buddha been even conceivably immoral, had it been possible for any one to associate these high and purifying natures

with a single act falling consciously below the level of their gospels. That is true of the case of those who are regarded as the founders of Religion, on the supposition that before they came among men there was no religion, that, in a word, they were the Divine announcers of a new truth. But it is certainly not true of those who make no higher claim than to be the expositors and revivers of wisdom as old as thinking moral man. It would be as reasonable to stigmatise the Christian faith, in the same way as Theosophy has been stigmatised for the alleged trickery of Judge and Blavatsky, on account of the numerous infamous priests who in the past have posed, and in the present no doubt do pose, as the accredited mouthpieces of Christ. The error is quite natural, quite intelligible from that point of view in which a religion, like a new patent, is presented whole and complete to the world as the work of a single mind. They cannot see, or can only very dimly see, what in the wider generalisation now occupying so large a place in religious thought, appears to be as plain as the sun at noon-day, that religion must necessarily have been co-eval with the spiritual nature of man, that it has either existed—not perhaps in the same or anything like the same form—but has yet existed since man realised the duality of mind and matter, or that it never has existed and never can exist at all. From the moment that a single individual became conscious, even in the faintest degree, of the possibilities of his spiritual nature—in other words, felt himself to be a moral and responsible being—the whole field of religion was thrown open to him as freely and unreservedly as it could ever subsequently be by the special guidance and illuminated teachings of a particular teacher. And that moment must date back ages and ages before the era of any now recognised founder of a faith. It seems to me extremely hazardous, in the imperfect state of our knowledge, to conjecture, much more to assert, that the exploration of that great and ultimate field of human aspiration has not been carried in times of which no record now remains, as far as if not further than in any to which historical experience reaches. And it is among the claims of Theosophy which I neither affirm nor deny, but merely state, that its truths have never been lost or extinguished but have been persistently transmitted, assuming doubtless different forms as the levels of human evolution altered, from the earliest ages of human existence. And it is an interesting and characteristic part of the claim that in

the remotest past chosen spirits had attained much loftier altitudes than any, except the few we call Divine, with whom our age is acquainted. Positive evidence, it is said, can be produced to establish this claim. Of that I say nothing, because none has come within the range of my own experience, necessarily an extremely limited experience. But as indicating a periodicity in spiritual, corresponding with the observed periodicities of temporal ascent, the assertion cannot fairly be thought violently improbable. Taken as a whole, the accepted law of evolution, as it is called, implies a constant forward and upward progress. This is qualified, on a survey of what records are within our reach, by recurring subsidences. Communities, like plants and trees, especially like the human frame, grow and decay. After culmination, as in the notable case of Greece, comes declension. The tide of evolution embracing the entire race may be pushing slowly, almost imperceptibly, forward, but each conspicuous wave rushes to the limit of its impelling strength, and then falls back. As in physical, so in spiritual life, it may well be that there is successive impulse and recoil ; but the field of our observation is so limited, represents so insignificant a fraction of the whole area to be examined, that any judgments we may form are almost sure to be partial and imperfect. Every analogy too, however close and apposite it may appear, carries within it the risk of fallacy. Pressed too far, it is likely to verge on absurdity. The modern science of Sociology, for which Mr. Spencer has done so much, exhibits a striking illustration of this, when towards the close of his long and fruitful labours, he endeavoured to draw an exact correspondence between all the intricate machinery of a civilised community and the intricate mechanism of the body of a typical individual composing it. I shall not therefore pretend to think, still less to assert, that there is anything like an exact correspondence between the laws (if any) of spiritual, and the laws, as generally understood, of physical evolution. I would only suggest to the consideration of the thoughtful, whether there may not be a strong periodicity in the former, evidencing itself in the phenomena of great revealers of moral truth, at long intervals, and less strikingly, but more within the reach of our own comprehension, the great waves of religious revivalism. This view removes all absurdity from the proposition that from the very beginning there have been illuminati, as Theosophists

allege, whose functions, clarified by an excessive predominance of the spiritual over the material elements of their total human nature, have served to hold on high the lamp of Truth and hand it on, as they successively appeared in due order and sequence, across the intervening abysses of twilight, to be welcomed at the appropriate hour as very revelations. Theosophy is a name, nothing more. It stands for all the spiritual wisdom of the world. It must stand or fall by its own merits, not by the demerits of any charlatan or impostor who comes forward in its name. On its occult side it is peculiarly liable to be distorted and degraded by the subjective propensities, too often running into the wildest extravagance, not to add immoral and deliberate cheating, of those who are acquainted with what many believe to be its latent possibilities. But may not the same be said of any great religion which has filled the imagination and intoxicated the emotions of millions of ignorant beings? The opportunities it then affords for playing upon the credulity which is the natural outcome of that mental attitude, are so large and so easy, that it would be strange indeed if false prophets and impure ministers did not avail themselves of them. The miracles attributed to relics and holy men throughout the middle ages, and reproducing themselves in our own day at Lourdes, are, in the opinion of most competent and impartial men, as unmitigated charlatanism as the precipitated messages of the Blavatsky-Judge confederacy. The extraordinary trial which has just concluded at Berlin, the trial of the celebrated flower medium, proves, if it proves nothing else, how extremely easy and tempting imposture of this kind must always be in certain conditions of unregulated credulity. But no wise man has ever thought the less of Catholic Christianity because of Lourdes miracles and bleeding effigies of Christ and all the other paraphernalia of priestly imposture. Nor should the wise man contemptuously ignore the entire body of Theosophical teaching with its great hypotheses, its perfectly adjustable explanations of what has always hitherto seemed inexplicable, even of the possibilities its subtler occultism suggests, because a few foolish people duped and thousands of more foolish people allowed themselves to be duped in the name of Theosophy. Blavatsky is not Theosophy. Before Blavatsky came Pythagoras, Plato, Manu, Buddha, Christ; later Swedenborg, Behmen, all the mystics; later still Whitman and Emerson, and

now the tremendous and rapidly growing school of American mentalists—all of whom can easily be seen, on an impartial examination, to have been or to be—some perfectly, others very imperfectly—exponents of the ancient wisdom which is the spring of all true religion.

This is not fanciful cataloguing, grouping all dissimilar expressions of religious emotion, with reference to a single occasional thought, under one vague heading. In truth, if we take what is most distinctive in each and all of the great works I have mentioned, leaving out of account what is impressed upon them by the temporary environment, we shall, I believe, find that this distinguishing quality is a more or less direct approach to the Theosophical synthesis. Not one of them has in so many words expounded the whole scheme as it is now to be found expounded with an excessive and repellent elaboration of detail in common handbooks. Probably because the addition of all these anthropomorphic attractions, this attempt at a photographically accurate presentment in terms of ordinary vision and experience of things not yet seen, or if seen at all not seen by average man, which we owe to the zeal and enthusiastic conviction of modern Theosophical societies, opens the door to many errors, excites doubts and detracts from, rather than adding to, the energising potency of the cardinal principles. But as upon the supposition that religion is part of the nature of, and therefore co-eval with, moral man, it becomes a necessity to unify in some way, beneath its Protean manifestations, the vivifying principle of religion—in such a way too as to explain satisfactorily and comprehensibly the why and the whence and the whither of moral humanity—that necessity compels us to separate religion from merely ephemeral creeds, and to discover, under all surface differences, a substantial identity. Theosophy, rightly understood, appears to offer at least as satisfactory a clue as any yet known to the labyrinth. Tested by its tests, all that is permanent and valuable in Christianity, Confucianism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, in all the works of sages and philosophers, easily harmonises and displays the profound working of immutable but simple spiritual laws. Thus such a writer as Emerson, in the truest sense a religious reformer and teacher, though owning allegiance to no Church or creed, although he never precisely stated the entire logical syllogism, constantly adopts the major and

the minor premiss, and is in speculation and illumination as truly and far more purely a Theosophist than others avowedly so, who have followed him. His chief spiritual belief of the Over-soul ; his intense and informing appreciation of Plato, and of Swedenborg up to the point where, by over-attachment to a creed, that great mind lost centre and balance ; his faith in the power of spirit over matter, implying some dissimilarity and even conflict ; his often repeated admiration of such a mystic as Behmen—all mark the essentially theosophic impregnation which gave force and individuality to his writings. Seen now in the light of a broader synthesis, his prophet-work is justly revered, and drawn upon for light and guidance by the most earnest and enlightened of the present American schools of religious thought. The same may, I believe, be said with absolute truth of every great constructive writer or teacher, who has exercised a permanent influence upon the thoughts and conduct of men. Wherein, then, does Theosophy differ from other religions? The answer to this is, that it does not differ from what is essential and true in any of them. But while other religions have assumed the form of creeds, especially the religions of the West, and thus deliberately staked off their own little boundaries, within which is, and without which is not, salvation, Theosophy has no boundaries. It is an explanation of the cosmic system ; it is an explanation of man's place in nature, and it answers all those questions which, since man commenced to think, the laws of ratiocination appear to compel him to put to himself. All other philosophies and creeds have found them unanswerable. No religion with which the West is familiar has ever succeeded in satisfying man's reason about such profound and recurring problems as the existence of seemingly unmerited suffering, the freedom of the will, the immortality of the soul. On the assumption of a personal God, the Father of us all, among whose attributes are perfect love and omnipotence, it is impossible to explain the miseries which the aggregate life of humanity every day thrusts under our pitying and averted eyes. Of the extensions given to this notion of a paternal God, altogether anthropomorphic, whose children we are, by current theologies, it is idle and superfluous to say more than that, if true, the loving Father is portrayed as a fiend of cruelty. But setting aside these inventions, Christianity has still to reconcile the awful and

unmerited sufferings of mankind, the ruthless and savage methods of nature, with its professed belief that the whole is controlled by a God of infinite love and infinite power. No human reason has yet succeeded, nor ever will succeed, in making that reconciliation. The difficulty is fundamental and insuperable, lying in the detachment of God from men, positing in Him precisely the same kind of love we bear to our children, precisely the same kind of power we exercise over them, but extending that love and power to infinity. No human, much less divine, parent would dream of inflicting such punishments, as upon this hypothesis God daily inflicts upon His children, for the gravest imaginable faults ; how much less, then, upon children who had committed no fault at all ? From this dilemma there is no escape ; either the Christian God is not omnipotent or He is not all-loving. As the difficulty is insoluble it needs to be evaded, and weak attempts at evasion represent the protests of rebellious reason against what is manifestly unreasonable. God's ways, we are often told, are not our ways, His justice is not as our justice. To that the answer is that if man is to be intelligently moral, he must understand the sanctions of morality ; if he is to be a loving and obedient child, he must understand the reciprocal love and justice of his parent. If he cannot do this, if what he is bound to believe is love manifests itself to him as the cruellest hate, and what he is taught to believe is justice is the most flagrant injustice, the very constitution of his intellect and moral nature forces him to rebel and repudiate all such "paternal" government. The sense of justice is innate in man, and his moral and religious world at least must be regulated by a justice measurable on the same scale. Abandon that requirement, once admit that what we understand as hatred may be Divine love, what we understand as horrible injustice may be Divine justice, and God becomes at once a mere meaningless, nebulous abstraction, whose acts contradict all His supposed attributes. All these distressing consequences inevitably flow from what we observe daily about us, and the attempt to reconcile these occurrences with the existence of a God definitely separated from man in kind, yet standing in the same relation to him as he to his own children in love and power, that love and power being absolute. On the great Theosophical hypothesis of Karma all these difficulties melt away ; inexorable law and justice take the place of unregulated chance and

chaos. No man is more fortunate than another ; good and bad luck in life are phrases without a meaning. Further, God is no longer a person like ourselves, but differing in kind ; we are ourselves in our spiritual natures a part of the Divine essence, and the realisation of our identity with it and final re-union constitute the motive power of all moral action. Theosophy has these three great dogmas : first, the oneness in essence of the spirit in man with God ; second, re-incarnation ; third, Karma, or the law of justice.

Karma, the great law of exactly apportioned retributive justice, requires re-incarnation for its complement. This law, believed, realised and adopted as the controlling guide of conduct and volition, brings back to the mind peace where there was no peace, and an intelligent and willing submission to what used formerly to appear to be the arbitrary blows of fate. If Karma and re-incarnation, as well as being the completest rational hypothesis, should in fact be absolutely true, practically everything which used to seem inexplicable in the destiny of mankind is shown to be not only explicable and perfectly intelligible, but inevitable, conforming with exactitude to a scheme of ordered and unaltering justice. We no longer clasp our hands in agony, exclaiming, "What have I done, what had he done, to deserve so awful a fate?" Whatever befalls you or me, is the payment of a debt ; we owe a penalty or we have earned a reward ; and in that Court there is no shuffling, no technical pleas, no appeal to mercy on the individual hard case. If our account, fairly balanced to the day of our birth, shows something to our credit, it shall be paid ; if to our debit, we shall pay. The statement of this law, like the statement of a mathematical axiom, carries conviction to some minds. Once understood they would be as incapable of doubting or disputing it as of doubting that two and two make four. Not so, yet, with all ; and for this reason the law of Karma cannot be classified with the *a priori* truths. Its applicability over the whole range of human experience is uniform and simple. Except on this hypothesis, no moralist who accepts the existence of a Power—whom we may always for convenience and brevity call God, premising that we do not thereby imply necessarily anything in the least like the anthropomorphic gods of this or that creed—can give a rational and satisfying explanation of such an event as the Martinique calamity, the earthquake of Lisbon or all irrational

tragedies. These, attributed charitably in man to madness, as those on the larger scale may be attributed to a like mania in Nature, appear so utterly senseless, and undeserved, to be so utterly out of keeping with any conceivable scheme of rational and benevolent government, that they force the conclusion that there is no God, and we, like the insects we slay at every breath and crush at every footstep, are rudderless atoms, drifting here and there for a day, of no account in the total values of the universe, the sport of blind accident. So when the tower of Siloam fell, the question was put, "Were those upon whom it fell more guilty than their neighbours upon whom it did not?" And God's rain falleth upon the just and the unjust alike. Such was the attitude, the necessary attitude of helpless abandonment, which preceded an appreciation of the law of Karma. Even those whose bosoms were filled with the purest and divinest emotions of love, the loftiest aspirations after an ideal of moral perfection, whose lives were modelled upon the promptings of the highest religious impulses, had no answer; they saw the apparent injustice, their hearts bled, but their tongues could only falter upon the empty phrases of a justice not ours, of the inscrutable purpose and methods of an inscrutable, and therefore incomprehensible, unrealisable and unlovable God. Apply the law of Karma, and all these dark and crooked ways become luminous and straight. In truth those upon whom the tower of Siloam fell were more wicked than their neighbours, not necessarily in this life but in the lives they had previously lived, and thus they paid the debt. In the old and only partially enlightened morality of Judaism, the terrible problem of heredity is met by the terrible announcement, "the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Nothing perhaps in the entire phenomena of human suffering revolts our sense of natural justice more than those effects which physically are attributed to heredity, and morally to the sins of the parents. We should call that man inhuman who deliberately punished the innocent for the wrongdoing of the guilty. Yet that is the position which those who have adopted the Judaic Theology are forced to take. No casuistry, however subtle, can defend it; it is contrary to our innate sense of justice; we must either believe that that innate sense of justice is entirely illusory, in other words give up all our claim to be reasonably moral beings, or we must abandon

the accepted theories of heredity. Again applying the law of Karma, we see that those who are born to an inheritance of disease are those who in former lives merited that punishment. They are not being punished for the sins of their fathers but for their own sins. And this explanation, simple and logical, at once satisfies our innate sense of justice and silences our rebellious murmurings. Many, to whom the statement of this law of the ancient wisdom is entirely new, start away in some fear and indignation. Not only, they say, do you refuse to sympathise with suffering, but you add insult. It is surely bad enough for an innocent babe to be born blind, without being assured that it has merited that awful punishment. Plausible though it may appear, this objection is not difficult to meet. In the first place, the general answer is, you allow that there is set before us a difficult problem. I offer you a solution. You say it is unpleasant ; I say it is true. The first question is whether it is true or not. I should then be indifferent to the pleasure or pain it might entail, but I would only add that, for my own part, so far from being unpleasant, it restores my confidence in the just government of the world, and replaces tormenting doubts by a profound peace. Next, I deny that it prevents sympathy with the afflicted. The blindness of the child is its payment of past debts ; the whole of its life under that affliction may be a beautiful and sustained upward struggle ; its character may be entirely lovable ; and it is our bounden duty, whether this be so or not, to extend to all suffering encouragement and sympathy, for through this fire the soul makes for purification. Lastly, it is surely a greater insult to God to pretend to believe that one of us is punished unjustly, than it can be to the individual to believe that he is punished justly. I apprehend that the Theosophist would meet the objection in that way, and I own that the refutation seems to me to be complete. Let us take the problem down into the realm of a justice we can all understand. Let us suppose that in a certain town statistics show that to every five thousand inhabitants one murder a year is committed. According to the old school of morality it would be reasonable and fair, assuming for the sake of the illustration that capital punishment must be inflicted for murder, to select, by lot, one out of every five thousand inhabitants annually, and hang him. The lot might fall upon the most blameless citizen, the most innocent maiden, the lisping babe ;

you will sympathise with him of course, but hanged he or she must be, as sortilege has so determined it. That system presents an exact analogy to the system which, it is supposed by the upholders of heredity and visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, God adopts in punishing his children. Surely it would be better to feel sure that the man who committed the murder was the man who was being hanged for it, even though that conviction might diminish the sympathy you found it possible to extend to him. Possibly the criminal himself would prefer you to think him innocent and resent your belief that he had merited his punishment, as an added insult to the prospect, already unpleasant enough, of being hanged. But in such a case, just because you can understand it or think you can from beginning to end, you would, I am sure, brush away all such considerations as childishly sentimental. These few concrete illustrations show how I believe Theosophists understand and apply the Karmic law. They do not exhaust the subject. It has many ramifications, some of which present considerable difficulties. In a limited compass I am hardly able to do justice to, even were I sure that I thoroughly understood, the whole Theosophical explanation of the principles governing exactly appropriate re-incarnation ; by which, that is to say, souls select the bodies whose material parts, characteristics and environment will ensure them that career, that fate, as the Mussulmans would say, which exactly corresponds, for all the purpose of that particular life, with the Karma they have accumulated. One reflection arising naturally out of this topic must have been obtruded on every thinking mind, viz., that it is inconceivable that any pair of human beings can, at their own option, on nothing higher than the sensual animal impulse, create an immortal soul. While that is quite, as I say, inconceivable, there is nothing inconceivable, nothing at all surprising in their being able to provide a material envelope, of merely perishable stuff, for the accommodation of a soul seeking re-incarnation. Nor does it seem logically absurd or impossible that there should be new souls detaching from the Over-soul, and starting for themselves a round of material existence. Speaking broadly and in popular language, I hope I correctly state the Theosophical hypothesis of re-incarnation, saying that those souls which are ready for appearance or re-appearance on earth are drawn by an irresistible attraction to

those bodies in whose life-course, whether it extends over a minute or a century, their Karma, and in some instances, too, the Karma of their parents, will be effectually discharged. Objection is often enough made that this is mere fatalism ; that it amounts to affirming that the whole of each individual's life and conduct is mapped out for him before he is born. There is, however, a very broad distinction between the Theosophical doctrine of Karma, if I have not misunderstood it, and the fatalism of the Moslem. The Karmic law allows for the operation of volition throughout life. In proportion as that volition is unselfishly good, so will the total Karma of the individual be finally affected for good. That a man should suffer throughout the whole of his life, may be his Karma, but once the age of forming responsible judgments is reached, it can hardly be his Karma to sin. Without going into the numerous refinements which this distinction suggests, and indeed requires, before it can be completely understood, it is thus that I think the Theosophical Karma is not only different from, but strongly opposed to, pure fatalism. Giving, as it does, a supreme preference to the Will, it closely accords with all that is best in ancient and modern moral, theological, and philosophical thought. There is nothing good, said Kant, but a good will. Karma makes the punishment fit the crime. You cannot do wrong, wrote Emerson, without suffering wrong. Like to like—this is the universal law of nature, in morals as well as physics. So taught Swedenborg, and Hegel added, punishment is the other half of crime. Thus viewed, there is no disproportion : and the stern ordinance, as a man sows so shall he reap, is seen to be literally true. The rationalism of Karma consists chiefly in this perfectly harmonious adjustment. Other religions, dissatisfied with the inequalities of life and fortune here, seeing that the wicked flourished as the green bay-tree, while the righteous too often were utterly cast down, invented a second world to redress the balance. There the righteous, who had not tasted of the sweets of this world, were to be compensated by an eternity of felicity, while the wicked, who had drained the bowl of earthly pleasures to the dregs, were to suffer endless torments. But this is only remedying one injustice by another ten thousand times more unjust. The ludicrous incongruity between the services and the reward, between the sins and the punishment, never seems to have daunted the constructive imaginations of the Heaven and Hell

builders. A little child who had lived just long enough to be baptised inherited eternities of bliss. A man who may have sinned in the sense of being worldly-minded, over a span of some thirty years, was for ever after cast into the pit. No scheme of compensation exhibiting such glaring disproportions could command the reason or satisfy the justice of moral man. Observe how different is the Karmic retribution. Not only must every one pay his debts and take his wages, but he must pay and take in kind, and in the place and under the conditions where the debts were incurred and the wages earned. There is no question—except on the spiritual side, where the progress is always gradual and very slow, of which too for all purposes of earthly morality as affected by earthly Karma I am not now speaking—of laying up treasures in heaven to recompense you for your earthly economies. The reward of spiritual growth, when it comes, will be paid in spiritual coin ; but that payment will not ordinarily be made till many successive lives here, each one transcending the other in spiritual power and devotion, have been lived and have purged the encumbrances of all material envelopes. The Karma of earthly prosperity or misery is the outcome of earthly conduct, and as such it is a repayment in the right currency, and to the uttermost farthing. If the question be then raised whether this hypothesis, however plausible, is true, whether there is any means of proving it, I apprehend that the Theosophical demonstration would be something of this kind. If the government of the world, and more especially of man, be under the control of God, it is necessary to postulate of God all virtues in the highest perfection and completeness ; it is likewise necessary to deny in Him the possibility of any vice or want of perfection. God stands for Perfection and completeness of Life, Love, Power and Peace. And in order that He may be rationally apprehended His ways must be rationally comprehensible. To be the stimulating spiritual God of mankind, His justice to man must be as man's justice to his brother, like, that is to say, in essential kind, though doubtless transcending in degree, and therefore, perhaps, not always precisely comprehensible in the minutest details. That is to say, we cannot always explain or understand why certain calamities and misfortunes, certain forms of sin and suffering, should be the appropriate punishments of certain offences. But speaking generally and universally, it may be assumed that God

takes no pleasure in punishment, that all sin and disease and crime is opposed to His nature (and, therefore, to so much of His nature as is in each of us. Consequently, where it appears, it must be understood to have been merited in exact accordance with fixed and inexorable laws of retribution. To suppose that punishment is merely capricious, falling upon the just and the unjust alike, is to deny one of the most essential attributes of God—is, in a word, to deny God Himself. It follows, then, from the ascription to God of Divine Justice, that whatever sin and suffering we see around us has been fully deserved. And as within the range of our own actual observation it is plain that it has not always, or indeed usually, been deserved in the life of the individual we are watching, it likewise follows that it must have been deserved in some other life. That that other life must have resembled in all its chief conditions the present life, is necessarily involved in the admission and the adequacy and appropriateness of the punishment; and the latter again is involved in the attribute of perfect justice. Thus the law of Karma and re-incarnation is seen not to be a merely gratuitous and fantastic hypothesis, but to be necessitated by the conception of God. It also possesses the requisites of a sound scientific hypothesis, as explaining more otherwise inexplicable facts, and explaining them more satisfactorily and completely than any other.

The proof, as I have thus stated it, is entirely *a priori*; but as such it is, I think, complete—that is to say, premising that the existence of a perfectly just, loving and controlling power, or God, is admitted. Obviously it will not carry the slightest conviction to the minds of those who deny that assumption. Nor, of course, is merely *a priori* proof and demonstration, proof or demonstration at all to the narrower minds of modern science, who limit the field of knowledge, and more, of the knowable, to that which can be perceived by the senses. All the speculations of transcendental metaphysics are in their opinion mere moonshine and foolishness, since there is no method of bringing within the reach of laboratory tests or perceptual experience the purely mental experiences, or of comparing with any approach to definiteness the spiritual impressions, that is, as far as their genesis and provability goes, of one mind with those of another. The Theosophist, as all mystics and great religious teachers, insists upon the actuality of what we may call higher emotional experience,

claiming for it much greater vividness, power and reality than the experiences of the bodily senses ; and it is from the Theosophical point of view that I am trying to present impartially the main tenets of the Theosophical system. So far, in describing the hypothesis of Karma and re-incarnation, it will probably be noted that no indication has been given of any moral or emotional stimulus to what we will call truly religious conduct ; no motive or stimulus, higher, at any rate, than a selfish desire to be bettered in the succeeding re-incarnation. Observing that that closely resembles the dominant motive in coarsely religious people so-called, professing existing forms of faith, with the single difference that they expect a heavenly and perpetual return upon their earthly investments, while the Theosophist believes that, limiting the question to average conduct, the return will be in the same currency as the investment, it should be added that, rightly understood, no profitable Karma can be accumulated by volition consciously directed to selfish purposes. The man who does good acts merely for the sake of helping himself to a better future, will find, as I understand Theosophical teaching, the whole of his labour and outlay wasted. And this consideration naturally leads to what is the true motive to good conduct, namely, the realisation of the oneness of the spirit in Man with the Divine spirit. The actual and present, not only the future and potential unity of Man with God is a keynote of Theosophical ethics. Although Theosophy unravels most of the riddles of life, solves satisfactorily enough for all practical purposes the master-knot of human fate, it, like every transcendental system, has a limit beyond which human comprehension cannot go. At the root of its whole metaphysics lies the involution of mind in matter, with an irresistible tendency on the part of mind to evolve again through matter to its former purity. But what the necessity for this involution may be, it is obviously impossible to surmise, much less to state with dogmatic precision. The whole visible universe is merely an emanation of mind—such is the cardinal doctrine of Theosophy, and, it may be added, of all religions and philosophies that are not purely anthropomorphic or material. Even so pugnacious a scientist as Professor Karl Pearson is as pure an idealist as Berkeley. Things in themselves do not exist, but only as they are apprehended ; they are to all intents and purposes the products of mind. So far I think the modern scientist, who abhors the very term metaphysics,

and looks upon the metaphysician, with all his works, as a childish trifler, is at one with the ancient wisdom. But he would probably refuse to go further along this road of speculation. The involution of mind in matter for the sole purpose of evolving in due course through that gross medium, as explaining what has in all ages been more or less clearly felt to be the dual nature of man, he would probably declare to be a mere cobweb of the brain, a proposition without any definite meaning. Nevertheless, in Theosophy, as in all religions, the firm belief of a divine spark in man has an intense and practical reality. In some religions this takes the form of believing that when man passes out of this body, the spiritual part of him, till then mortal and quite distinct from Divinity, will enjoy a heavenly immortality, though even so an immortality quite personal and distinct from the immortality of God. In Theosophy the spirit of man is identified with the spirit of God ; God himself breathed forth the entire material universe, involving parts of Himself in parts of it, making the whole capable of becoming infused with Himself. That this is not the same as what is usually understood by Pantheism, just as the doctrine of re-incarnation is not the same as the pagan doctrine of transmigration, must be taken to be a part of Theosophical teaching. The soul that has once incarnated in Man can never re-incarnate in any lower form of animal, vegetable or mineral ; the spirit which is in Man is not the same as the spirit, if any, which may be thought to be latently involved in animal, vegetable or mineral. That these latter have capacities, not on this plane, but as the cosmic scheme works upward for improvement, possibly even at last for receiving, as man has already received, a part of the Divine mind, Theosophy will not, I dare say, deny. But a speculation taking so vast and vague a sweep is of no practical utility, and need only be indulged in by those who delight in the minutest metaphysical researches. All that is important to assert and hold by, is that man, as at present constituted, has in him a spark of Divinity, which it is his business to foster and encourage, in spite of the centrifugal forces of its material envelope, during its manifestations in a material world. All mind, all spirit, is centripetal, tending to fall towards its own largest accumulations ; form and variety are especially the properties of matter. As the mind freed of matter is uniform and identical, so matter freed of mind is chaotic and variform. The conjunction of mind with matter pro-

duces a profound uniformity under a surface of endless variety. In proportion as peoples are regulated by a belief in the identity and ultimate re-union of mind, they tend to quiescence and uniformity ; in proportion as they are regulated by an absence of such belief along with a corresponding belief in individuality and perpetual separateness, they tend to activity, and endless industrial, social, political variety. There seems no justification for the too often expressed and commonly accepted statement that the Oriental philosophies, which have always centred upon the uniformity and ultimate identity of Mind, necessarily produce a pessimistic cast of thought. How far, on the contrary, a realisation of this truth, if it be a truth, conduces to the highest and most joyous optimism is being proved over a large field daily in America. The pure Theism of London, which so far does not seem to have attracted many followers, approaches, though it does not fully grasp and announce, the same ruling principle ; and it certainly is entirely optimistic. On the other hand, the Christian religion, which has moulded through twenty centuries the character of the West, and is supposed to be in striking contrast with the quietist Buddhism of the East, tending as strongly to an optimistic, as Buddhism to a pessimistic, view of man's life here, when it is examined historically, displays the most profound pessimism among its most natural consequences. No fact was more emphasised by its early teachers than the utter worthlessness of this life, the hollowness and vanity of the world, with all its specious beauty, the need of cultivating a spirit of renunciation which, carried to its logical extremes, covered Europe with ascetics, and obscured the whole lovely face of Nature. It cannot be denied that the Buddhistic teaching, partially and ignorantly applied, has tended to produce a spirit of utter indifference to the work-a-day life about us. But it may be very confidently denied that that is a legitimate, much more a necessary, consequence of the Theosophical doctrine of the identity of the spirit in Man with the spirit in God. Rather, as seen in the writings of the abler American Christian Scientists, putting aside as irrelevant the claims of that movement to have found an immediate panacea for all disease, and to have rendered the medical profession superfluous, the vivid realisation of each individual's oneness with the Infinite Spirit of Life and Love and Peace unmistakably encourages the liveliest, brightest, sanest optimism. Where it falls short compared with

Theosophy is in explaining the apparent injustices of life. It has no law of Karma reconciling facts with a supreme controlling justice. It is intensely ecstatic, and like all moods of ecstasy, liable to overbalance itself, and become extravagant and absurd. But kept within bounds there can be no doubt, if we are to rely upon the testimony of thousands, including men and women of proved ability and not a few eminent members of the medical profession, that it promotes the growth of a healthy tone of body and mind. It is, in fact, one part of Theosophy, the vivifying and energising part, resting as it does on the perfection of God outside matter, and the identity of man, in so far as his spiritual can be separated from his material being, with that perfection. Though it draws largely on the established religion and the sacred books for its authority and inspiration, it is as clearly marked a departure from its current presentment in our churches, as the London Theism of Mr. Voysey. It is altogether above creeds; it sets no value upon clerical authority; it believes in a vast fountain of life and love and peace, open to all who care to realise the best that is in them, without any reference to a particular creed or a particular revelation. But it is so sanguine, so utterly joyous, and at times almost irresponsible, that it leaves out of account the tragedies of life; what explanation, if any, it has to offer of these, is not very apparent from its recognised text-books—probably that they are all due to ignorance, here reverting very curiously to the noble but again only partially illuminated tenets of the Stoics. But it is obviously unjust, and worse than unjust—cruel, to punish people for ignorance. Still as it stands, not yet completely worked out, it is a convincing proof that the first of the great Theosophical propositions need not and ought not to lead to a pessimistic view of this life. It teaches, as I think Theosophy when rightly understood teaches, that man is his own spiritual, moral, and very largely his own physical maker. In this, again, all these lines of thought converge back upon Roman Stoicism. That lofty and noble morality, carrying the dignity and strength of individual man to the utmost heights, declined because the demands it made on human nature were far too large for ordinary human nature to satisfy. Its keynote was perfect isolation and independence. Each man, with the Daemon in his soul to guide him, stood alone and fearless; nothing external could hurt him, because nothing external was of the slightest

consequence. As long as he was true to his rational faculty, he was true to immutable and eternal principle, and beyond the reach of all misfortune. "If a man be unhappy, remember that his unhappiness is his own fault, for God has made all men to be happy, free from perturbations." (Epictetus, Bk. 3, cap. 24.) This is curiously like the fundamental tenets of the Eddy school in America, and is strictly in conformity with the ancient wisdom. But the "god" of the Stoics, mentioned frequently enough, as too "the gods," did not represent anything very real, certainly nothing at all personal, nor a being of whom they were a part. Their stern ethics needed no prop or comforter; God, an abstraction for universal government according with what they called the spirit of nature and natural justice, launched each man equipped with his daemonic guide. For the rest each man's life was absolutely in his own hands to make or mar, without the slightest reference to any future compensations. The fault in this superb and haughty claim is that it takes no sufficient account of facts. It can hardly be said that every man is even born with a rational faculty, and if that be subtracted, there remain numerous everyday phenomena to be accounted for, which the Stoic philosophers certainly could not explain, since the whole of their ethic depended upon the preservation unimpaired of, and implicit obedience to, this rational faculty. Of this rational faculty Marcus Aurelius says: "These are the properties of the rational soul; it sees itself, analyses itself, *and makes itself such as it chooses*; the fruits which it bears itself enjoys." This structural capacity of the soul to shape itself, if not altogether, certainly very largely, is common to all the highest forms of thinking; it permeates Roman Stoicism, is evidently implied in Theosophy, and is re-appearing very strongly defined in modern thoughts. The formative power in Theosophy is rather Thought, than Will. And this again brings Theosophy closely in touch, in a very interesting and instructive manner, with the beliefs of the forward American school. It would be hazardous yet to say whether all that is there claimed for the effective power of consciously directed thought can be substantiated. But like Theosophy, these modern mystics hold that thoughts are real forces, and can be made to react not only on the physical organism of the thinker but on that of others. The will is altogether subordinated, being regarded merely

as the director and selector of thought. But in the Theosophical and all connected philosophies or religions, the freedom of the will, within large limits, is usually assumed. Sections of the most advanced scientific thought, of which Clifford was a fair type, hold, on the contrary, that there is no freedom of the will. Clifford even goes so far as to contend that were the will free, the order of society would be overturned and we should have a mad and irresponsible world. His argument seems to me fallacious. It is true, as he says, that people do not do extraordinary things upon the prompting of every passing whim, but it is by no means evidently true that they have not the power to do them. And although the outlines of the map of every individual life may be drawn beforehand, it may be doubted whether at any given moment the will is not free to fill them in as it pleases. For the construction of any scheme of ethics, and still more of religion, it is, I think, indispensable to assume that the will is free. I have already indicated how Theosophy assumes it to be so, under the operation of the Karmic law. And this freedom of the will, of paramount importance in estimating conduct, is also important in connection with the Theosophical doctrine of the energy of consciously directed thought. Here again the ancient wisdom connects with modern telepathy. In a larger development the American mystical use of thought, as the fashioner not only of the moral and spiritual, but also of the physical nature, is seen to be a repetition and adaptation of a Theosophical tenet. On the Swedenborgian principle, that throughout the whole of nature like attracts like, a class of enthusiastic religious pioneers hold that it is in the power of every spiritually minded man, by trained volition, to direct and control his thoughts in such a way that they will naturally attract to him their correlated visible consequences and affinities, that he will, in their language, actualise his thinking in himself, and not only that but be able by the same means to render services of incalculable value to his brethren. This is at the root of the great faith-healing movement, and although at present I am unable to say that either the evidence or the reasoning on which its promoters rely is conclusive, it would be difficult to doubt that, apart from healing diseases, and limiting the training and use of high thinking to the formation of high and happy character, results do justify this application of an important

Theosophical off-shoot. Coming back to the basic principle of Theosophy, which I have tried to show has no pessimistic tendency, that the soul or spirit of Man is a part of the spirit of God, it will be seen, I think, that the reason why its constant upward struggle to that from which it emanated, has been confounded with a necessity to look upon life and all its surroundings and conditions as inherently evil and a thing to be escaped from, lies in ignoring what Theosophy at any rate teaches, viz., that man now actually participates in the spirit of eternal life. In a realisation of this essential unity and strenuously concentrated effort to harmonise his spiritual nature more perfectly with the pure spirit, its source, Man ought to find the highest and most invigorating comfort. Recognising that like all the works of infinite goodness, this life and this phenomenal world are good, there should follow upon every enlargement of spiritual correspondence a growing gaiety and exuberant gladness in the magnificent natural setting of this manifestation. In its control over and appreciation, æsthetically, of the beautiful side of nature, the soul does not lose but gains in spiritual strength. "It is a comely fashion to be glad; joy is grace we say to God." Further, this recognition of the ultimate identity of spirit entitles us to appropriate all the goodness and all the virtue of the world. For the needs of our earthly pilgrimage, what is meant by "God" is practically the aggregate of mankind's spiritual virtue and efficacy. In that sense Man is in sum his own God, and each man has it in his power by conscious effort upwards to enrich not only his own spiritual nature, but the total fund upon which, as he upon the gifts of stronger and more enlightened spirits, his weaker brethren may draw for consolation, guidance and support. In this religion there is no atonement, no place for intermediaries or intercessors between a crawling and abject man and his offended Maker. There is no salvation offered as the price of professing a creed. Every spirit must work out its own purification; but with the sustaining consciousness that it is part of and in sympathy with the fund of Infinite Spirit. No man may save his brother, said the Psalmist, for it cost more to redeem his own soul, so that he must let that alone for ever. But though there is here no question of "saving" his own or any one else's soul, the temporarily individualised spirit, as it grows towards perfection, becomes a transmitter of

inspiration, comfort and support to all below it on the upward path. I should say a word or two upon Theosophical presentment of Love, in the widest sense, comprising of course every form of sympathy, toleration and compassion. In proportion as the individual seeks to identify himself with the infinite spirit, of which infinite and perfect love must of necessity be postulated, he acquires the habit of loving on a large and Catholic scale. So I understand Theosophists to insist that at the height of their emotion they love mankind. It must, I think, be confessed that, however amiable as an ideal, and perhaps in the light of a character-forming exercise, this notion may easily be carried too far. It appears to stand in need of obvious qualifications. In dealing with Tolstoi and his cult, Mr. Chesterton makes some extremely true and striking remarks upon this verbal exaggeration. When enthusiasts profess to love mankind, collectively, with the same love, they evidently overstate their meaning. To say that you love all men with the same love, pungently observes Mr. Chesterton, (*vide* "Twelve Types") is as absurd as to ask a friend whether he prefers chrysanthemums or billiards. To this excess tend the American mystics, who insist upon the necessity of daily and hourly holding the mind consciously upon the thought of loving humanity. You may love men, but hardly mankind; and you can only love men in degrees as they excite more or less that emotion in you. Admitting that an intelligent appreciation of the Theosophical tenets ought to enlarge in each of us the faculty of unselfish love of our brethren, there is in addition to the qualification borrowed from Mr. Chesterton another seemingly needed. It is easy to compassionate and to forgive, but it is by no means easy, doubtfully even right, to love a wilfully bad man. Put in the most abstracted form, this can mean no more than that you are prepared to love what he might have been, had his will been good instead of bad. Beyond that, beyond extending love to all that makes for good and is therefore rightly lovable, I question whether the Theosophist can carry his practice. But the mental climate engendered by this habit is one in which all the serener affections on the amplest scale are most encouraged. In it there can be no sectarian jealousies, no intolerance, no exclusive appropriation of the gates of salvation. Every Theosophist must and always does extend the most cordial sympathy to every genuine religious effort, the faithful of every fold are alike welcome. The

Stoic stood self-centred upon his own conscious virtue and unassailable confidence in the infallibility of his rational faculty, his one Divine gift. The Theosophist finds his secure centre in the increasing consciousness of his actual living identity with Infinite Life and Love. That consciousness attracts to him all the life and love and strength of all the virtue that has been or is or will be in the world. Such are some of the most striking deductions I, as an impartial outsider, draw from the writings of those who profess the ancient wisdom. For want of comprehension, and writing away from libraries and books of reference, I may have fallen here and there into errors. I have at least tried to deal fairly and impartially with one or two aspects of a very large and a very interesting subject. I need not be told that the Agnostic would probably deny every one of the Theosophical propositions; that he would deny that Man's mind had anything of Divinity in it; that there was the slightest proof of the doctrine of re-incarnation; that Karma was an obviously human fiction. I am aware that science would shake its head disapprovingly over the theory of thought as exercising an actual and perceptible influence on the physical body. Science, according to Professor Pearson, explains nothing; it merely describes, and the laws of science are mental shorthand, only resuming in a formula the carefully gathered results of all previous experience. Nothing, according to Professor Pearson, is knowable at all outside the field of science, that is to say, which is not the subject of experience through the bodily senses. And what is not knowable is idle guess work. All metaphysic, all transcendentalism is worse than waste of breath. So circumscribed, the field of knowledge still remains ample enough, but its boundaries contain no answer to the riddles which Man has, it would appear, been obliged to ask himself, as soon as he became self-conscious. Science has nothing at all to say about that wonderful little word "ought;" plainly being merely descriptive, it cannot and does not want to tell us anything about our moral or spiritual nature. It probably denies that we possess a spiritual nature; the word "spiritual" is anathema not only among the bigoted men of science, but in other circles, where its habit of slurring difficulties and introducing false analogies has got it into grave discredit. It is enough for my present purpose, without expressing any opinion of my own, to rest upon the widespread, maybe utterly erroneous but

certainly deeply-rooted, belief, that man has a spiritual nature, and that its laws, its origin, its destiny are quite as interesting and demand quite as much painstaking, honest investigation, as the movements of planets, or the idiosyncrasies of bacteria. I have purposely confined myself to a presentment of the broadest and most easily intelligible principles of Theosophy. Without writing a book, and a very long book, it would be impossible to explain in detail the entire scheme. The occult side of Theosophy, which naturally enough exercises a peculiar fascination over certain minds, has only been referred to by name. Partly because I think it requires much more solid proof than has yet come under my notice, and partly because it appears to me utterly unimportant in comparison with the great spiritual and ethical teachings to which I am trying to draw attention. Further, all occultism has unfortunately in recent days been so inextricably mixed up with vulgar frauds and impudent impostures that the word in itself puts anyone using it peremptorily out of court.

F. C. O. BEAMAN

THE CASTE CODES AND POPULAR THEOLOGY OF INDIA.

(Concluded from our last number.)

VI.—FUSION OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN RACES AS NAGA-KUSHIKAS.

THE worshippers of Rai, who were sons of the tortoise, became in India the sons of Rama, whose father was Rai or Raghu, and his mother Kush-aloya, the home (aloya) of the Kushikas. He founded the rule of the Naga-Kushikas, whose capital was at Kashi (Benares), and who were first the growers of millets and oil-seeds brought from Asia Minor by the Gond or Gaurian sons of the Gauri, the wild cow, the Indian bison (gaur), the mountain-goddess worshipped at the new moon of Magh (January-February) at the Magh-mela feast of national union. These pioneers, when joined later on by the immigrants who brought into India domestic cattle and the sacred oil plant, the Til (*Sesamum orientale*) became in North-western India the Jat tillers of barley and wheat, and among them every member of each family eats yearly at the first-fruits sacrifice seven mouthfuls of barley mixed with milk and sugar. Further evidence of the history of this immigration and its consequences is given in the story of Manu, the measuring god. He, as the god of the Minyan race, who measured time by the year of the Minotaur or measuring moon-bull, accompanied these tribes to India, where he is worshipped in his female form as Manasa, the snake sister of Vasuki, the Takka Vasuk Nag by the Bagdis, Chandals, Doms, Koch, Koras, Kewuts (trading fishermen), Kumhars (potters) and Lohars (workers in iron). The guide selected by Manu in his regulation of time was, according to the Brahmanas and Mahabharata, a little fish which he found in his water-jar, or in other words the fish who dwelt at the sources of the parent rivers of the Ibai-ari or Minyan sons of the rivers, who in Bœotia in Greece worshipped the Copaic eel, which was also a parent god of the Egyptians, who marked the course of the year by his annual migrations to the sea in autumn and

his return in spring. This eel, under the names Aind Indu, a name of Indra, frequently used in the ninth Mandala of the Rigveda, Aindwar, Induar, is the parent totem of the Santals, Kharias, Kharwars, Mundas, Korwas, and Oraons, the members of the Malli confederacy, and also of the Rautia Kaurs, who were, as we shall see, leading members of the northern immigration, of the Goalas or cattle-herdsmen, the Asuras and Lohars (workers in iron,) the Pans, Turis, and Chiks (basket-makers), and the Nageshurs or sons of the Naga (snake), and these tribes who have the eel for their totem numbered 8,319,598 persons at the last Bengal census, or close on eight million three hundred and twenty thousand.

But this little fish grew, when Manu reached the ocean, into a large horned fish, the dolphin, which with its two scythe-like fore-fins, and its curved back, looks as if it had horns. This was the fish-mother of Greek and Syrian mythology, who became Apollo, the dolphin, and Derceto Atergates or Tir-hatha, the dolphin mother of the coast tribes of Palestine. This fish told him to build a ship carrying the year-gods of time round the ocean encircling the earth, the home, as we shall see presently, of the ocean snake, Shesh Nag, and of the Midgard serpents of the Edda. Manu embarked on this ship, taking with him the seven Rishis, the seven stars of the Great Bear, and was drawn as the sun-god going from south to north by the mother-fish of the southern ocean to the central mountain of the northern Himalayas. There Manu fastened the ship to the world's mother tree, and offered a *paka* or maturing sacrifice of clarified butter, sour milk, whey and curds to the creating waters, whence Ida, the mother, arose after ten months of gestation. She had been, as we have seen, the sheep mother-goddess of Mitra, the moon, and Varuna. She now disowned them and became the daughter of Manu, the god of the cow-born race, who traced their descent to the mother-star Rohini (Aldebaran), who had originally been the doe-mother of the deer-son god, but had become to the cattle-breeders the star of the red cow. It was to the new mother that the central place in the navel of the national altar was assigned in the revised ritual, and she became the centre of the three Vedic mother-goddesses Mahi or Bharati, Ida and Sarasvati, who in the Vedic mythology take the place of the three trident mothers.

These immigrant races also brought to India with their new theology new forms of year reckoning, based on the changes of the seasons marked by the revolutions of the Great Bear. One of them was that in which the year was measured by lunar phases, and divided into thirteen months of twenty-eight days, a reckoning still preserved by the Ugro-Altaic Finns and the Altai Tartars of Asia. The other was the year of Rama,

who drove the Great Bear, the plough of heaven, the Nagur or plough constellation of Gonds, round the Pole, and with it marked the track through the stars followed by the sun it took with it. This track was called that of his wife Sita, the furrow, and the ploughman who kept the plough in its right path and thus guarded the boundaries of the heavenly field circumambulated by the sun plough was the boundary (laksh) guardian, Lakshman, brother of Rama, the star Arcturus in the constellation of Bootes, the cattle herdsman. Sita, who was the sun-furrow, was also, in her aspect as a measuring year-goddess, the moon-goddess, who in her phases followed the same track through the stars as that followed by the sun. This was the path of the twenty-seventh Nakshatra or Nagkshethra, stars of the field (kshethra) of the Nags, the cloud snake-gods of the Naga-kushika. These twenty-seven Nakshatra or zodiacal stars are called in the Mahabharata Yojinis, or stars of the yoke (Yoja) of the chariot of Heaven, the Great Bear, and are said to be wedded to Chandramas, the moon, and to be the daughters of Daksha, the god of the shewing hand of the five days' week "employed in indicating time." This Nakshatra year, measured by the passage of the sun through the zodiacal stars, finally become the orthodox official year of the higher castes in India, who belong to the twice-born brotherhoods included in the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya castes.

Daksha also had thirteen daughters, the wives of Kashyapa, the father of the Kushite race, and the thirteen months of the Kushika year. This year is that reckoned by the Santals, though the names of the months are only known to the fathers of the tribal families and transmitted by them to their sons. It is the year of the Magh-mela at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, beginning with the new moon of Magh—and it is also reckoned by the Mundas, Ooraons and Kaibarttas, or trading fishermen, the superior section of the Kewut caste. It is also proved to have been a year almost universally reckoned as the official year throughout India by the celebration of its mid-year feast, the great national festival to the Nag Panchami or five mother-Nags or snakes, which is everywhere held on the 5th of Shravana (July-August) the mid-month of the year, said in Rg. I. 164,-15 to be consecrated to the one self-begotten god among the twelve pairs of months begotten by the creating gods. And this festival is especially dedicated to Manasa, the female Manu.

This year is said in the Mahabharata to be the year of Bhishma, the miraculously born sexless son of the river Gunga, who was generalissimo of the Kauravas in their war with the Pandavas for the rule of

India. The Kaurs, who now represent in India the ancient Kauravas or sons of Kur, the tortoise, worship the stars of the Great Bear which rule this year as the Seven Sisters. These Kaurs succeeded the Mundas, Oraons, and Gonds as the ruling race in Chutia Nagpur and Chuttisgurh, and still own extensive estates there. They are the most advanced agriculturists among the semi-aboriginal tribes of Bengal and the Central Provinces, dwelling in well-tilled and well-ordered villages always fully provided with tanks and irrigating wells. They are only surpassed by the Kurmis in farming capacity. They are near relations, for in both castes all bridegrooms are first married to mango trees, to which the Kaur brides are also married, while those of the Kurmis are married to a Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*) tree. Husbands are first married to Mahua trees among the Bagdis, Lohars and Bauris who call themselves the sons of the dog Munda, and Santal brides are also married to the same tree. Also almost all castes celebrate their marriages in arbours made of trees, so that the mother tree is universally reckoned as the tribal parent by all classes of the people. The national developments which mark the rule of the Naga Kushikas produced, with the increase in skilled workmanship, manufactures and trade, a complete readjustment of the original caste system founded on village and provincial confederations. In the primitive period the only artisans in the country were the makers of village implements, who used flints as cutting weapons. They had, gradually as society progressed, become village carpenters, coppersmiths and weavers, and the women of the northern immigrating tribes, who introduced pottery, made clay vessels, which are still first fashioned by the women Kumhars or potters. The workers in these and other trades were, under the rule of the house-building Nagas, formed into distinct unions or trade-guilds to which all members of each trade belonged, and which in their tribal organisation divided themselves like the agricultural village castes into sections and septs. Hence arose a new set of castes, united not by community of residence but by community of function, and the members of the most primitive of these trading castes seem to have retained, on their transfer to the new brotherhood, the totem names they formerly bore; and others, like the Rajputs, the sons of Ra or Raj, called the new septs by territorial names, and the Rajputs have a further division peculiar to themselves into the (1) Agnikula or sons of fire, to which the Gaur Rajputs, sons of Gauri the wild cow, belonged, and who are related to the Gour Taga Brahmans descended from the Takkas; (2) the Lunar; and (3) the Solar Rajputs. These names mark their

descent from the worshippers of the household fire, the moon and sun, rulers of the year. Among the Lunar races are the Nag-bunsi, sons of the Nag, and the Haiobunsi, sons of Hai, a very primitive race that once undoubtedly ruled all Central India. Their last reputed royal descendant was the Haiobunsi Raja of Chattisghur in the Central Provinces, who was finally deposed by the Mahrattas in 1750 A.D. The power of the Haihaias as rulers of northern and central India was, according to the Mahabharata and popular tradition, broken by Parasu Rama, the god of the double axe (parasu), the divine image of the two lunar crescents of the waxing and waning moon ruling the thirteen months' year. He was the fifth son of Renuka, the flower pollen, and of Jamadagni, the twin fires of the north and south races, whose father was Richika the fire-spark, and his two mothers the sacred fig-trees, the Banyan fig-tree (*ficus Indica*) and the Pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*). He slew all the Haihaias at the Samantu Panchaka or five adjoining lakes of Kuru-kshethra, the land of the Kurus. He was historically the god of the thirteen months' year of the worshippers of the mother tree, whose year-reckoning differed from that of Rama, the ploughing god, son of Rai or Raghu and Kushaloya, and hence it is clear that the Rajputs, who still continually include in their castes rich men of alien tribes who give high prices for the privilege of marrying their daughters, had been from the earliest formation of a separate warrior caste an association which received into its brotherhood wealthy and powerful recruits without any regard to their birth.

Also a very large number of the castes named after their trades trace their descent to Kashyapa, one of the stars of the Great Bear, the father of the thirteen months of the year, and he is the sole ancestor of the Chasas and Koch Rajbunsis, the cultivating castes of Orissa and North-East Bengal, and also of the very numerous caste of the Chandals in Eastern Bengal; and either alone or joined with others he is the reputed father of thirty-seven castes, among which are the important castes of the Subarna-banik, the tradesmen of the Sus, to which the Pal Kings of Bengal belonged, the Brahmans, Goalas or cattle herdsmen, Tantis (weavers), Telis (makers and sellers of oil), Kumhars (potters), and Malis (gardeners). Other parents of these castes were Gautuma, the bringer of the household fire, and Bharadvaja, the lark, the sun-bird of the northern immigrants, the father of Arundati, a star in the Pleiades, which all brides and bridegrooms of the twice-born castes are directed in the still observed ritual of the Grihya Sutras, to worship the first night they spend in their new home, and with this star they must also worship the Pole Star and the Great Bear, in which constellation Vashistha, the

superlatively great Creator (Vasu), the husband of Arundati and the central fire on the altar, is a star.

It was under the guidance of the Great Bear that these successive swarms of nothern immigrants entered India, and their settlement there in the central land of Chedi, the country of the birds (chedchir), called Magadha by their offspring the Chirus, is ascribed in the popular history of the ruling Magadha dynasty to Vasu or Vasuki. He is the god called in the Rigveda and Brahmanas the Gandharva Vishvavasu—the Great Bear—whose birth as the god ruling the Kushika year is described in the story of Rama. In his original form he was the headless storm-cloud who attacked Rama and Lakshman, while they as year-gods were trying to find out the tracks of the star-furrow along which Sita had been carried off by the ten-headed Ravana, the wind, who had in primitive mythology driven the stars, sun and moon round the Pole and had nearly devoured Lakshman when Rama cut off his left arm. Lakshman then cut off the right arm and pierced his body till he died. It was from his corpse that the Gandharva Vishvavasu appeared as the transformed wind-god who guided Rama in his quest and told him that to find Sita, the furrow, he must get the help of the Ape King, Sugriva, the bird-necked (griva) or bird-headed ape, who afterwards with his apes built the 360 days bridge of the solar year, by which Rama crossed to Lanka (Ceylon) to find Sita in the labyrinth of Ravana, the southern home of the southern sun and the Indian form of the Minyan den of the Minotaur.

The north-Indian sons of the mountain formed the central mountain of their Kushika realm in the Sakti mountains, the Kymore range south of Kashi (Benares), and it was there that Vasu planted the parent tree of the new race, the Kichaka or hill male bamboo, the lathi or club of the Indian Goalas or cattle herdsmen. This became the totem of the Bharata race of the Kauravas and Pandavas represented by the modern Bhars, whose remains, scattered over Bengal and the North-West Provinces, and the Sanskrit name of India, Bharata-varsha, or the land of the Bhars, prove them to have been imperial rulers of the country. Their totems are (1) the Bans Rishi, the parent bamboo; (2) The Bel fruit of the Bel tree (*Egle Marmelos*); (3) Kachap, the tortoise; (4) Mayura, the peacock with its tail glittering with the stars which marked the annual course of the sun-god. This genealogical tree shows that these sons of the bamboo were the wise physicians who knew the medicinal virtues of the Bel fruit as a preserver and restorer of health, and who ruled the tortoise-earth on which time was measured by the star-stations of Rama's Great

Bear plough and the sun-ox which drew it. The fulcrum whence the mountain home of the creating god was made to revolve with the turning wheel of the Great Bear was Mount Mandara, meaning the revolving mountain. This was the Marang Baru, the great hill, the dwelling place of the Supreme God of the Santals and the Mundas, the holy mountain of Parisnath on the Burrakur in Chutia Nagpur, which was finally appropriated by the Jains as the Lord (nath) of Traders (Panris, Paris) and is still their most sacred shrine in Eastern India. In the Kushika cosmogony it was the centre-mountain of the earth, surrounded by the deposed Sek Nag, the rain snake of the Raj Gonds, who had become Shesh Nag, the Ocean snake, the Spring God of the Nagas. He was placed round the mountain by Vasu or Vasuki, as the same god of the Great Bear constellation placed the triangle of Green Palasha twigs, the three seasons of the year, round the central fire on the altar, built on the top of the centre-mountain. The Mahabharata says that Vasuki, the Naga snake, made the mountain revolve by his hood, the waggon stars of the Great Bear, and his tail, the three shaft or plough-handle stars, and Kashyapa was one of these stars called in the Vishnu Dharma the tail stars; of Shimshu-mara, the alligator constellation.

VII. THE RULE OF THE SONS OF THE TREE WITH EDIBLE FRUIT—THE FIG TREE.

These united Naga Kushika races were, as we have seen, ruled by the sons of the mango and mahua trees, to which their sons and daughters [were married; hence their parent trees were no longer the wild forest trees, the Sal and Palasha trees retained as the trees of the village grove, but the forest trees added to this by the skilled agricultural immigrants who had become the sons of the tree bearing edible fruit, the god Bhaga of the Rigveda whose name survives in the Persian and Hindi Bagh, the garden. The most widespread of these trees was the Bur or Banyan tree, a totem tree of the Kharwars, the parent tribe of the Chiru rulers of Magadha, also of the Bedia, a branch of the Kurmis, of the Santals and the Gaolas or cattle herdsmen. It was also the parent tree of Kashyapa, the divine tree of Kurukshetra, whose sap was, according to the Katyayana X. 9, 30, the Soma drunk at their annual feast of first fruits by the Kshatriya Rajputs and Vaishyas. It was under the Banyan fig-tree of Kashyapa, the Buddhist Kassapo, that the Buddha obtained enlightenment, and it is still the parent tree of the Chams of Cambodia, whose supreme father god is the Indian Shiva, and their mother goddess Po Ino Nogan Taha is the cloud bird mother of the Banyan tree and all the men and women

born from it, and the goddess who placed the earth on the tortoise, or rather who called the earth the Kushika tortoise and who sent the seeds of the parent rice plant to heaven.

This parent fig-tree, which became in India the banyan tree, was originally deified in Syria and Asia Minor as the wild fig-tree, the tree bearing edible fruit, whence the phalli of Dionysos were made. It was the parent tree of the Hittite worshippers of the plant father and mother, who like the plant parents of Parasu Rama brought the god of the year of the double axe to life by the infusion of the male pollen into the female seed vessels. This fig is depicted as the parent tree in the palace of Minos at Gnosso in Crete, now being excavated, and the year-god thus begotten is the god of the Labrus or double axe engraved on the temple pillars dedicated to him. He is the god of the Labyrinth of the Minotaur, the secrets of which were revealed to Theseus by Ariadne, the Corona Borealis, the winter cradle of the Great Bear. It was the sacred fig-tree, at Eleusis at Athens, given to Phytalus, the god of the sprouting (phutos) plant by Demeter, the goddess mother worshipped at the Thesmophoria, which began, as we have seen, the Pleiades November year in Greece. It became the *Ficus Ruminalis*, the parent tree of Rome. Its worship was brought to India by the barley-growing Khati, the men of the joined (Khat) race, whose name survives in Khatiawar, where the Jain religion of monotheistic asceticism which they professed began with the consecration of their first sacred hill Satrunjaya in Palitana in that territory. Their parent name is retained by the numerous and wealthy caste of the Khattri, who are mostly bankers and merchants, who have in their hands a large part of the trade of the Punjab and Afghanistan, and the monotheist Sikh prophet Nanuk was a Khattri. One branch of the tribe is a half recognised Rajput clan allied to the Jats, and they are also numerous in the North-west Provinces and Bengal. They were originally the Bactrian sons of Vahlka of Balkh, who took the name of Kshatriya from the Bactrian Ksha, to rule.

One of the most interesting and instructive lines of proof, tracing the history of the union of these mixed northern and southern tribes, is to be found in the caste marriage laws. We have seen that among the primitive village races individual marriage was not recognised, but that the women of each province were married to all the men in it, except the men of their own village. Marriage was introduced by the immigrants from the north, and that these marriages were thought to be unions between aliens, who must be united in blood brotherhood before

they were joined in marriage, is proved by the almost universal adoption in Bengal of Sindurdan as the binding symbol of marriage. This is the name of the mark drawn with red antimony down the parting of the bride's hair by the bridegroom, answering to the Roman custom in which the bridegroom parted the bride's hair with a spear. That it was originally a ceremony of making blood brotherhood between the alien pair is proved by the actual interchange of blood in the marriage ceremonies of the Kearits, near allies of the Kaibarttas, Bihors, Kurmis, Kayasths or writers, Rajputs and Rautia Kaurs; and among the Kewuts and Kayasths, the bride and bridegroom eat together, thus reproducing the *confarreatio* or common meal on barley (*far*), the binding rite of a Roman wedding. Those castes which claim to be the direct descendants of Kashyapa, the Bhandaris and Chasas, the barbers and cultivators of Orissa, the Khandaits, a warrior caste of Orissa and Chutia Nagpur, the Savar Suvarna or Suari distributed over Orissa, Bengal, Chutia Nagpur, and the Central Provinces, and the Koch Rajbunsi of north-east Bengal, make the tying of the hands of the bride and bridegroom together with Kusha grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) the binding rite of marriage.

The use of Kusha grass is a most important part of historical ritual. It was with Kusha grass that the earliest form of the Hindu sacrificial earth altar, made in the form of a woman, was thatched, and it was in sheaves (*barhis*) of Kusha grass that the Kushika barley-eating fathers, the Pitaro Barhishadah were called to sit at their Shraddha or autumn (*sharad*) funeral feast, offered to them to celebrate the beginning of the new year opening with the autumnal equinox, falling after the ten days' Shraddha at the end of Bhadra-pada (August-September) is finished. The barley offered to them was parched at the fire so that it could be carried for food on a march in military and emigrating expeditions, and it is from this parched barley that the Suttoo or barley meal, the staple food of almost all castes in the North-West, is ground. This feast superseded that originally offered at the beginning of the Pleiades year. In the ritual of these sons of the Kusha grass, on whose altars the Gandharva Vishvvasu, the Great Bear god, placed the triangle of green Palasha twigs round the central fire, the rice heated on this fire was ground by millstones, placed on the skin of a black antelope, the Hindu form of the deer sun-god, which is used in all Vedic ritualistic ceremonies to consecrate all objects offered in sacrifice on the national altar. All Brahmans at their initiation must wear the skin of the black antelope, and every partaker of the national Soma

sacrifice, who in joining in the rite was said to sacrifice himself, must wear it as his only garment at the initial sacraments of new birth called *Diksha* (consecration), which all male members of the twice-born castes must undergo before they can join in the national new year's festival, at which the sap of the mother tree or plant was drunk as a living symbol of the creating God. And at this sacrifice every neophyte must, as the Brahmanas tell us, sit in the baptismal bath of regeneration, which he enters wearing the birth caul of the black antelope skin, in the posture of an unborn babe, with his knees drawn up close to his body. This is the posture of corpses in neolithic graves in India, Egypt and Europe, and the Brahmanic explanation of it reveals to us that the people who used it in their burial ceremonies believed in the new birth in another life of the soul of the dead corpse, which they committed to the grave as an unborn infant placed in the womb of the mother earth. The god of this cult of the black antelope is Krishna, meaning the black antelope, and he became the supreme god of the Kushika sons of the barley, who used barley as one of the ingredients of the Soma drink in all the forms assumed by the sacrifice after they regulated the ritual, both in the earlier *Santramani* sacrifice, in which both Kusha grass and barley were used as ingredients of the intoxicating Soma drink then consumed, and in the final form of the pure sacrifice of the twice-born castes who had renounced the use of intoxicating drinks in which the Soma barley was mixed with milk, curds and pure water from a running stream. The god Krishna or Vishnu was, in his first avatar, the fish, the dolphin mother fish who led the year-ship of Manu, and hence he was the god of the sons of the rivers born from the river eel, who were tillers of the ground, thus differing from the worshippers of Shiva, the trident-bearing god of the shepherds and cattle-herdsmen. It was Vishnu, who in all changes of year-measurement regulated the course of the farmer's year, whether it was measured by weeks, seasons or months, and it was to him that the consecrated Soma ground was dedicated, on which the chief altar was the *Uttara-vedi* of Varuna. The thirty-six paces of its length were called the thirty-six steps of Vishnu, and he is also the god who is especially worshipped as the son of the mother tree, for his image as the divine tree-trunk is wedded yearly at the Rath-Jatra of the summer solstice with his twin sister Subhadra or Durga, the mountain cloud bird, the Garuda bird which is depicted as sitting at the back of his year-chariot. He is the father of the sons of the cow who made their way from Asia Minor down the valley of the Euphrates, their mother river,

where they worshipped Dara called "the antelope of the deep," who, like the Indian Vishnu, drew the ship of the fish god Ia, and it was in their sojourn in these river valleys that they deified the grass on which the antelope fed and which became the Kusha grass of Indian ritual. He finally in his last avatar became the sun-god ruling the year, the eighth son of Vasu-deva, the god Vasu, the seven stars of the Great Bear.

Another symbol in caste ritual indicating the history of these caste confederacies of originally alien elements is the use of turmeric and oil. Turmeric is the mother plant of the yellow Dravidian races who take their name from the Dravidian or Bun Haldi (*curcuma zedoaria*) the wild turmeric, from which the Teli oil-makers and oil-sellers are said to have been made by the goddess Bhagavati, the tree mother of edible fruit (bhaga). All Brahman brides and bridegrooms are anointed with turmeric before marriage, and it is in the weddings of the Kayasths and Rajputs mixed with oil. The binding symbol of wedded union at Dom marriages is the tying round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom bracelets made of threads steeped in turmeric and oil. They who are now basket-makers and makers of the bamboo frames supporting the thatched roof of a house, were the original house-builders of [the Naga Kushikas. They formerly, as holders and builders of the Dom forts of Ram Gurh and Suhankot on the Rohini river of the mother star Aldebaran, ruled the country watered by it which now belongs to the Gautuma, and it was in their territory that the Buddha was born in his last traditional birth. Also one of the clans of the Pabhans, the caste to which most of the Behar Rajas belong, is called Domkhatan or the sons of the Dom-knife. It was they who, as the founders of the confederacy of Dame, the building tortoise, built the houses of their trading towns, and it was the Telis who traditionally trace their descent from the potters and builders who introduced the medicinal and ritualistic use of the Asia Minor oil made from the Til or Sesame plant (*sesamum orientale*). It is with this oil that all Hindus, both men and women, anoint themselves from their earliest childhood, and it was used in all the ceremonial observances of the age preceding that Vedic ritual in which ghi or clarified butter took its place. The only Vedic sacrifice in which sesamum is used is that performed at the consecration of the Soma fire-altar, when a hymn of sixty-six stanzas is recited to the gods of time, who are manifestations of Shata Rudriya or the hundred Rudras. He is addressed as the summed-up personification of the god of the year-arrow shot by Rudra or Krishanu, and the gods invoked are, as explained in the Brahmanas, those of the three hundred

and sixty days of the year, of the thirty days of its twelve months and of the intercalary, thirteenth month of thirty-five days added every six years.

This god Rudra is, in the ritual of the Gonds and Dosadhs, Bhimsen, the god of the lathi or male bamboo club, planted by Vasu on the Sakti mountains, as the parent tree of the Kushika Bharatas, and he appears in the Mahabharata as the second of the five Pandava brethren, the son of Maroti, the Gond tree (marom) ape god. He is the first of the Gond five parent gods: 1. Bhimsen; 2. Mata or Bundi; the forest (bun) mother-tree; 3. Mata mai, or Sokha, the second witch mother, the three prongs of the creating trident; 4. Goraya, the boundary snake; 5. The ape Hanuman or Maroti; and to these the moon mother Pandahri or Muchandri is added as the time-mother of the months of gestation.

Thus Rudra, the shooter of the year-arrow, is, according to the chronometry of Vasu's year, the ape god who makes the bow and arrow of the Great Bear revolve round the Pole with its two arrow stars, pointing at the Pole star, and hence he is the father god of Aurva, the son of the Thigh (Uru) called in the Manvantara, or calendar of Mana, Ur-ja, born of the Thigh, and named as one of the stars of the Great Bear. Aurva is also called Vadavamukha, the sun horse, who turns his face to the left, (vama), that is he who makes his circuit of the heavens from right to left, the direction followed by the Great Bear. Aurva in the genealogy of the Mahabharata is the son born from the thigh of Arushi, the red flame, wife of Chyavana, the moving one, the turner of the heavens; and Aurva, as the fire-drill turned by the Great Bear Constellation, is the father of Richika the fire-spark, who was, as we have seen, grandfather of Parasu Rama, the god of the double axe. Hence the genealogy of the sons of Sesame oil and turmeric; the Dravidian race traces these back on the male side to Maroti, the tree ape, who became Rudra, the god who shot the year-arrow, and on the mother's side to Arushi, who as goddess of the thigh is the mother ape of the Thibetan Buddhists, the wife of Indra called in the Rigveda Vrishakapi or the rain (varsha) ape (kapi).

This genealogy, as we shall now see, is reproduced in that of the priests of this age, the barber-surgeons who are still in Orissa, the priests of five village mother goddesses, and who are everywhere in India the arrangers of marriages, in some castes the marriage priests, and in all the higher castes the assistants of the Brahman priest, who superintends the ceremonies. In the marriage of the Napit or barber caste, the bridegroom is rubbed seven times with turmeric and oil, and it is only these

barber priests who can perform some of the most important ceremonies of Hindu life, who at their birth shaves the heads of children born with hair, and cuts their hair and that of adults at the periods prescribed by the caste and ritualistic rules first imposed during the period when the partakers of Soma were the shaved neophytes, who brought the intoxicating ingredients in the Soma cup from their long-haired predecessors, the followers of Shiva whose priests were the ascetics with matted locks. In the hair-cutting ceremonies the barber holds Kusha grass in his hand, which he cuts together with the hair, and he is paid for his work by gifts of boiled rice and sesamum seeds. The barber was also the primitive physician, and in this capacity he was the caste ancestor of the present Kabi-raj or professional doctor. The Kabi-raj or Baidya physicians are descended from Dhanvantari, the god of the bow (dhanvan), who was born of the Kusha grass cast into the lap of his mother Birbhadra, the holy Ber tree (*zizyphus jujuba*) by Galava, the pure Soma which is in Buddhist and Bengal popular mythology the sap of the Lodh tree (*Symplocos racemosa*) called Galava in Pali (from the bark of which the red powder thrown by both sexes on each other at the Huli festival is made) and Ber juice was one of the ingredients of the intoxicating Soma cup drunk at the Sautramani sacrifice. Here again, the genealogy takes us back to the ape god of the bow, for the Kabi-raj, son of the bow-god Dhanvantari, is the king Kapi, the ape, also called Kabi-Indra, the ape son of Indra and his wife Vrishakapi. And Indra himself is also called Indu in the Rigveda, a name of the eel-parent of the Kushika Malli confederacy who are the sons of the rivers, who called themselves Ira-vata, the sons of Ida of Ira, the sheep and cow mother, and who carried the memory of this descent with them on their migrations from North-west India to Burma in the name Iravati which they gave successively to the Ravi in the Punjab, the Rapti in Oude and the Irawaddy in Burma.

The wise tree ape, father of the physicians, is the god who dwells in the Pole Star, and whose thigh is the Great Bear constellation, the ape Su-griva of the Mahabharata with the neck (griva) or head of Su, the bird who was wedded to Tara, the Pole Star, after Vishva-vasu, the Great Bear constellation, had told Rama to slay Vali, the earlier circling (vri) wind ape and to look to Su-griva, the bird-headed ape, who had become the sunbird, for help in finding Sita. This ape god was in Egypt the bird-headed Horus, father of Hapi, the ape who vanquished the earlier ape god Set, who sat on the top of the world's tree and turned the

stars round the Pole with his thigh, the Great Bear which was always called in Egyptian astronomy the Thigh of Set. This turning ape god was in Greek mythology Ixion or Ixifon, the Sanskrit Akshavan or man of the axle (aksha), who became by Nephele, the cloud, the Indian cloud bird, the father of the Centaurs or men of the sun-horse, and who was bound by Hermes to the revolving wheel of the Great Bear.

This wise ape god, the sun physician, the turner of the stars and shooter of the year-arrow, became the divine prophet of the Kurmis and the numerous agricultural castes who are strict monotheists and who still call themselves Kabir-Puntis, or sons of Kabir, who revealed to them the laws of the invisible god hidden in the mists surrounding the Pole Star his home. This god is worshipped by the Chamars as the Sat Nam or True Name of God, and they, whose caste occupation is making and selling leather, make shoes of the Hittite shape with turned up toes, and worship like the Kaurs the Great Bear as the Seven Sisters of the tribal prophet, their Guru. These caste prophets are the Gurus of the Hindu caste system, the Sakadwipa, Maithela and other divisions of Brahmans, who were originally the Ojhas or medicine men, who added magical charms, incantations and amulets to the practical remedies recommended by the barber-physicians among whom cautery, fomentations, massage and rubbing with oil were favourite means of cure. The hymns of the prophet Kabir form the oldest part of the Sikh Grantha, which was in its present form first published as the National Bible by Nanuk, who was, as we have seen, a Khattri, one of the joined North and South tribes. This wide distribution of the belief in one God and His prophet made Mahommedan conversion in India a very easy task, for of the twenty-five million Mahommedans in Bengal who form from two-thirds to three-fifths of the whole population in North and East Bengal, almost all, when originally converted, merely called their prophet Mohammed, instead of Kabir, and they still remain as thoroughly imbued with all traditional caste customs and beliefs as those who call themselves Hindus. They have merely become another caste.

The belief in this tree ape prophet is that of the Hittite Khatri or joined races, who called themselves the sons of the mother tree, the pine-cypress and fig-tree, and their father god is the Phrygean Pappos, the Grandfather, who became Attys, the son and lover of Agdistis, also called Cybele and Rhea, the tree mother goddess of ritual, in which her priests carried the Labrus or double axe of Parasu-Rama, and who was transformed from the tree-ape into the sexless plant father god when he emasculated himself under the pine tree, the Phrygean national mother

tree. Thus we see that in the history of Indian caste evolution, the worship of the earlier village gods, the cloud-bird, sun-bird, the mother grove and tree, the guardian snake and the wise father ape, were first taken from India to South-Western Asia and Europe by the first founders of villages whose gods, customs and beliefs were always retained by them in their subsequent transformations as their most precious national possessions. And these again were brought back from Asia Minor to India by the Kushika Naga races, worshippers of the Basque forest god, Basuk or Vasuk Nag, the revolving stars of the Great Bear, and were on their return to their ancient birth land intertwined into the new codes of caste customs introduced by the transformation of village communities, who ate together and whose villages intermarried into trade guilds forming castes united by community of function. And this process, which divided India into a great multiplicity of castes, appears in other countries in the division of the population into priests, warriors, shepherds and husbandmen, who became in India Brahmans, Rajputs, Vaishyas and Sudras, in the allotments of separate quarters for each trade in eastern bazaars, and in the formation of trade guilds which have ruled European and Asiatic trade from a very remote age. The caste and religious evolution which I have traced up to this point was that of a people who buried their dead partly according to paleolithic and partly to neolithic customs, in which the corpse was either extended or doubled up. This was followed in the Bronze age by the introduction of the custom of burning the dead, attributed in the Brahmanas to later immigrants of the barley-growing races, who substituted cow-worship for that of the sacred Indian buffalo. These newcomers, called Agnishvattah, or those consumed by fire, received at the autumnal funeral feasts half the parched barley prepared for the Pitaro Barhishadah, which was made into porridge with the milk of a cow suckling an adopted calf.

The religious change described in this ethnological riddle is that which made the adopted calf the Vedic sacrificial animal, the bull instead of the buffalo always offered at the Dasahara festival of the autumnal equinox. This buffalo was in the earlier rituals still spoken of in the more ancient Vedic hymns as the flying buffalo called Indra, whose birth as the buffalo calf from the mother tree, the cow who has only once calved, is described in Rigveda IV. 18. These men of the Bronze age introduced the worship of the independent sun-god who made his own path through the heavens on the line of the zodiacal stars, moving sunwise from left to right instead of

making the left hand circuit of the sun taken round in the track of the Great Bear. This latter primitive system still survives in Chinese astronomy which makes the yearly path of the sun retrograde and places the Rat, the zodiacal sign for Aquarius, before that for Capricornus and thus reverses all the other signs of the zodiac.

It was in the new ritual of the worship of the independent sun-god that the baptismal consecration of all young men became a national custom in India, and this was merely a new application of the rule requiring national instruction to be given to the young of both sexes and their investiture with the sacred thread. This among the Zends was given to both sexes and represented in its seventy-two threads the seventy-two weeks of the year. The Hindu thread girdle was only given to the male members of the twice-born castes, and it represented in its three threads the three seasons of the year. In the investiture of the Brahmans the neophyte ties it with three knots to represent the three stars in Orion's belt. Whether the limitation in India of the caste ritual of investiture and baptismal consecration to the male members of the caste is a new innovation or merely a proof that these customs were first introduced when the patriarchal system had also most completely eradicated matriarchal rules, I have not been able to ascertain; but at any rate the framers of the modern codes have very slightly altered the customary caste law which in all castes is so intertwined with primitive customs as to leave no caste which has entirely cast off its old memories and adopted a brand-new code for its members; and the members of all castes record in some of these customs their birth from the mother tree.

J. F. HEWITT.

UNDER THE EMPRESS : LEAVES FROM A LANDSMAN'S LOG.—PART I.

CHAPTER III.—LONDON AND OXFORD DURING TWO GENERATIONS.

WHEN Sir Walter Scott published "Waverley" with an alternative title of "'Tis sixty years since," he assumed a considerable license : for it was only *begun* in 1805, to be laid by for so long that the interval separating the book from the events related was nearer seventy than sixty years. Under shelter of which great authority the writer of the present little record hopes to escape censure if he adopts a similar liberty in looking back towards the earlier part of the Victorian epoch. Nor does he propose to try the reader's patience with a repetition of the well-worn comparison of the two ends of that protracted period. Great, indeed, have been the transformations evolved in many of life's aspects by the introduction of railroads and telegraphs, bicycle-riding and the penny post. Untaxed newspapers now supply facts and fancies to an enfranchised democracy ; Chartism has been killed by concession ; the Irish Church has been disestablished, and the disestablishment of the Church of England has become a topic of discussion even among her own votaries. Education has been made compulsory, though, on the other hand, if in science and in politics advances have been made it is doubtful whether the general intellectual and moral level has not been lowered. At the beginning of the reign the Poet Laureate was named William Wordsworth : Macaulay and Mill were at their zenith as popular writers ; among the rising stars were Tennyson, Thackeray, Dickens : theologic teaching and controversy were in the hands of Chalmers and Newman. To none of these names could the end of the reign supply an adequate comparison, any more than the ephemeral fiction which now usurps the name of "Literature" can rival the work of Bulwer, Lever, or Currer Bell ; to say nothing of Dickens, Thackeray, or George Eliot.

One of the earliest events in the world of English letters by which

the commencement of the Victorian age was marked was the first appearance of a periodical destined to a long and influential career. On the 17th July, 1841, was published the opening number of *Punch, or the London Charivari*: inspired—as the second title shows—by a comic paper of the Parisian boulevard, which it was ultimately to outdo in almost every respect. The Mayhew Brothers had much to do with the inception of *Punch*; but the first official editor was Mark Lemon, a portly publican from Holywell Street. During his incumbency Mr. W. S. Gilbert became an aspirant for that public favour which he has since so fully and so deservedly enjoyed; and a story used to be told of his having sent the earlier of his afterwards popular “Bab Ballads” to *Punch*, to be declined by Lemon. It was added that, some time afterwards, the young author met Lemon at dinner and proceeded to score in his most characteristic manner. “You edit *Punch*, I believe, Mr. Lemon?” “Yes.” “And I daresay you have some funny things sent to you from time to time?” “Oh, yes,” answered the genial Mark, “very funny things indeed.” “Ah!” said Gilbert, meditatively; “what a pity you never use any of them in your paper.” The writer would be far from endorsing this bitter joke. The *Punch* of Jerrold and the Mayhews, Kenny Meadows and Leach, was not better than the paper has been in later hands: but it had plenty of funny things.

It must have been soon after the date referred to when the *Athenæum*—then under the father of Sir Charles Dilke—pointed out the ascension of a new star in a review of the volume containing “Mariana” and “The Lotus Eaters,” “The Lady of Shallot and other Poems,” 1842. The new author was encountered at Culverden, the house of some neighbours of ours at Tunbridge Wells; a stately presence with long black hair and retired manners. Wordsworth ere long pronounced him: “The greatest of our living poets”—a high benediction from the father of our poetic reformation.

Walter Scott had been dead some ten years; but the influence of his imaginative treatment of the past was exerting itself upon our cultured classes, giving rise to the “Puseyite” movement at Oxford and to the “Young England” party in Parliament and in Society. Charlie-over-the-water—to use Borrow’s phrase—symbolised not only a political ideal but still more a religious reaction; and the principles of poor decapitated old Laud, though not in so many words propagated by the author of “Waverley,” derived popularity from his teaching. Of the Coryphæus of the movement—if nicknames go for anything—nothing need be said here. Dr. Pusey’s piety and learning, coupled with his birth and social stand-

ing, made him a prominent leader, according to general opinion : but he was a moderate man and hardly a Champion. John Newman was of a different character and soon led the more ardent spirits of his school to what he and they deemed a logical conclusion. Of his abilities an indiscriminating admiration has appeared universal since his death ; but survivors will remember that Arnold—who had known him when they were both Fellows of Oriel—vehemently controverted his reasoning, while Carlyle said he had “the brain of a buck-rabbit.” The truth probably was midway of two extremes. Newman’s earnestness was joined to a consummate controversial irony which had a singular effect on men’s minds ; but his great powers were not always used with due discretion. Years after the time now under notice, he was sentenced to a fine for libelling an opponent ; and nothing could well be more severe than the admonition then addressed to him by Sir J. D. Coleridge, the presiding Judge. And his subsequent attack on poor Charles Kingsley, though a wonderful piece of triumphant dialectic, was not felt by every one at the time to be altogether fair. Impartial critics may well have felt that Newman’s keen bright faculty was a weapon in his hand rather than a complete expression of his mind [See Maudsley’s “Natural Causes,” etc., p. 292, and footnote on the next page]. Nevertheless, with whatever drawbacks, Newman had the heart of a heroic combatant ; and to that he has been indebted for the position he has attained amongst the intellectual idols of the age. It is not less noticeable that his University was at that very day producing men destined in some measure to counteract his influence : such as Clough, Stanley, Matthew Arnold, and others who have perhaps supplanted him as leaders of the best modern thought. The pupils of Mark Pattison and Benjamin Jowett are doing more to-day than the Neo-Laudians, of whom the strongest have quite deserted the ranks of Freedom.

Oxford is totally changed since the beginning of the reign, whether materially, socially, or as a place of learning. In those days you went up, as vacancies occurred in your College, of which you could not be a member until you had matriculated ; which was done after an examination by the College authorities, mainly directed to the discovery of the class of your attainments in view to arranging what lectures would be most suitable for you to attend. The lectures in each College were delivered exclusively to their own pupils, by the tutors of each ; and attendance—with due answering and construing—formed the great part of your studies ; the lectures of the University Professors being either non-existent or matter of option, if not a mere formality. In your

fourth term you went through what was called "Sitting for Responses," when you took your place in the Schools' Gallery to witness the examination of your seniors for their "Little-go," and in the succeeding term you were expected to present yourself for a like ordeal. There were no Moderation Examinations, and only two final schools for "Greats"—in which the more promising of the undergraduates were encouraged by the authorities of their respective colleges to try for honours in humane letters, or in mathematics, or in both. By the former is to be understood what is known at Cambridge as the "Classical Tripos," but in place of genuine scholarship such as that of Porson or a Shilleto, the Oxonian had to display his acquirements chiefly in Logic, Aristotle, and Greek verse. Such was the path indicated for the ambition of the studious youth of the University.

The reading men, however, were in the minority, those to whom the approval of the Dons was as the breath of the nostril, and who shunned delight and lived laborious days. From morn to dewy eve they read, only intermitting their labours to sally forth for a "constitutional" walk up Headington, to Godstow, or some other fixed point not too remote. Halls and chapels, as a matter of course; and a rare visit to the union to listen to, perhaps join in, a debate.* Their destiny was clear; some would become Fellows and settle down, each in turn, to a College living with vague views of Deanery or Bishopric; others would become ushers in public-schools with hopes—more or less justified—of succeeding to the head-master's ferule. A certain number went to the Bar, whence they might, or might not, extract a fortune or rise to the Bench: a few might graduate in medicine and set up as consulting physicians, awaiting their guinea-fees, while the general practitioner, less hampered by education and etiquette, chased the nimble shillings in his gig, or compounded pills and potions in his odorous surgery.

This was the ideal of the reading-man: a double first—often becoming something less in actual result—a decorous and lucrative career—not seldom attaining more of the former than of the latter. But there were others, at the extreme opposite, who were quite insensible to such considerations. These were the "fast men," using or abusing the supplies sadly made to them by encumbered parents; crossing the quadrangle to each other's rooms in ragged academics, or "doing the High" in unbecoming splendour. Dog-fighting, billiards and beer, bad company and *vingt-et-un* formed the occupation of their lives, which,

* These debates were then held in the parlour of a shop, or some such modest resort.

indeed, they might have carried on without coming to college at all. Pluck and rustication failing to reform or warn them, they went to the dogs in their respective ways; some to a hall where, under a relaxed discipline, they might hold out until, in the fulness of time a Pass degree might be pitched from a weary university; others to the post of billiard marker, private soldier, or penniless emigrant. It is hardly necessary to add that the great majority of undergraduates had little in common with either of these extremes; consisting of brave youths, happy in emancipation from school, living on their allowances, observing rules in a general way, taking their B. A. in due course, and disappearing into the midway paths of life, neither much better nor much worse for having spent three years at the University.

Oxford has indeed changed, in social matters especially. Many of the Dons are now married and live in the pretty northern suburbs, where their wives entertain undergraduate friends at tea and tennis. Noblemen and gentlemen commoners no longer dine at high-table in silken gowns, though there is elsewhere more association than of old between the older and younger men. You can take honours in "Mods" and graduate, afterwards, in fancy subjects: when you return to college after the long vacation you find that your rooms have been occupied by an extension lecturer or, perhaps, by an enthusiastic school-marm.*

Materially, also, the place is a good deal altered. No longer do you enter over Magdalene bridge: the "Angel" has fallen, and in his vacant place arise Jackson's new "Schools." Trams run through the streets, and B.N.C. has a neo-gothic frontage on the High. Nevertheless, a certain mediæval air clings to the old city, and even lingers about the common-rooms of the Colleges; and Oxford, more than any place in England, still links the present to the past.

One great change there certainly is. In the early days of railroad travelling the university authorities, in the interests of discipline, contrived to prevent the great Western Company from bringing their line to Oxford. The nearest station was then at Steventon; and the consequence—as might have been foreseen—was not to prevent the young men from running up to London, but merely to add to the expense of the journey the cost of a trap to Steventon, and another to bring one back next day. There was no local theatre either, so that the most

* A vivid impression remains on memory of the late Lord Ward, in silk and gold, rustling into Jubber's with a train of admiring henchmen.

innocent undergraduate had always an excuse for an occasional visit to the centre of music and the drama.*

Those were in London days of good acting and poor staging; in place of elaborate structures built up on the stage, while the audience waits on the carpenters, you had to be satisfied with flats and hanging sheets. But you had Macready, Phelps, Harley, Farren, Buckstone, the Keeleys, Madame Vestris, Mr. Nisbett; and excellent plays replaced after a short run by others equally enjoyable. The pit was a pleasant rendezvous for critics and people of moderate means, where, for a couple of shillings, you could get a seat in a good angle of vision for the stage—the same, in fact, as the seat now called a “stall,” for which you may be charged half a guinea; and where you may (between the ladies’ hats) see a problem-play in which the actors and actresses go through their hundred and fiftieth performance with mechanical accuracy.

A favourite resort with young Oxonians of those days was the Haymarket; and that little theatre had a speciality in which we took great interest. It was, probably, the precursor of the comic operetta, in which the Savoy has since become so conspicuous; but it was a cruder and less ambitious undertaking, known to the time as “Burlesque.” The idea was to take a well-known fairy tale, dress it in drama, and throw in a lot of topical songs written to familiar airs. The writer was generally Mr. J. R. Planché, an official of the *Heralds’ College*, whose antiquarian tastes combined with light artistic instincts derived from French blood; and among the performers were Charles Mathews and “Polly Horton,” known to later admirers as Mrs. German Reed. One of these entertainments exhibited the gods of Olympus coming down to London; and the part of Mars was taken by a stentorian barytone, Mr. James Bland, who sang a song in praise of gun-cotton, an explosive just then produced by a German Professor. Bland’s song on this topic—regarded as congenial to the God of War—may be quoted as an example of Planché’s manner.

“Some talk of Captain Warner,
Of Lord Dundonald some,
Of shooting round the corner,
Or of something quite as rum;
But of all the strange inventions
The strangest this appears,
If with cotton-twist you the charge can resist
Of the British Grenadiers.”

* Further details of university life at the eve of the Victorian epoch and on to the middle of the 19th century will be found in Mr. Thekwell’s “*Reminiscences*,” 1900.

We have got a good deal further in the finish of our comic ballads since then, though many playgoers of that period are still able to go to the theatre : and the exploits commemorated have been as much superseded and made obsolete as the verse in which they were sung. Captain Warner invented a "long range" by which he blew up a boat at a distance of 300 yards ; and Professor Schönbein, with a charge of cotton, sent a round shot through eight inches of deal board at a distance of nearly one hundred. These feats would not attract attention in China now.

At Drury Lane, English Opera made a fairly successful stand under the management of Alfred Bann—remembered by a few on account of his quarrel with Macready. The tenor parts in these performances were taken by Mr. Harrison, one of whose sons in due course married Charles Kingsley's daughter, known to modern novel readers as "Lucas Malet." Mrs. Nisbett for a time left the stage to become the wife of Sir William Boothby, a Derbyshire baronet.

Among the frequenters of the "Omnibus Box" at old Drury were Sir Charles Shakerley, Sir Henry de Bathe, and Michael Bruce of the Coldstream Guards, the ardent admirer of the beautiful but ill-fated Clara Webster, whose dress took fire at the footlights, and she was killed before his eyes. Among the beauties of the higher social sphere were Miss Virginia Pattle—afterwards Lady Somers—with Lady Pollington, Lady Dorothy Walpole, and the daughters of Lady Jersey. Like the stars of the theatrical world, these too have passed from sight, like comets moving in hyperbola ; and the rare survivors are left to echo the sad song of Captain Morris :—

"There's many a lad I loved is dead,
And many a lass grown old ;
And, when I think of themes like that,
My weary heart grows cold."

Other notable men about town were Count Alfred d'Orsay—the glass of fashion—and his friend Prince Louis Napoleon—then chiefly known for ambitious undertakings which might seem to have been borrowed from Planché—Lord Alfred Paget, Sir Charles Kent, of the Life Guards, and a few others, among whom a young Jew M. P. was being much talked about, partly for his eccentric writings, but more for his audacious attacks on Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons. (Mr. Benjamin Disraeli was only young as a politician in a world where men unconnected with great houses rose slowly, having been, of course, born nearly forty years before.)

The day of great houses is over ; their last stand was in opposition to Free Trade ; but the changes in the political system that the last sixty years have witnessed have been celebrated elsewhere : fortunate in this respect has our country been that change, which might have been caused by sudden violence, has been the work of time. Though so gradual, however, it has been very complete ; and Demos, who was battering the gates with his fire-pointed Charter at the opening of the period, is now solidly established in the high places of the City. Every great department of state is affected by the new system ; in one respect at least most patriotic Britons will admit an evident advance. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria what has now dwindled into "Little England," of which even its friends seem half ashamed, was called "Manchester School," and was connected with high and serious politics. "Cut the painter" was a common cry, in regard to the colonies ; "Perish India" was an aspiration hardly disowned by some of the Chiefs of Freedom.

In one direction, indeed, it was found by a practical test that the imperial instinct was not lulled beyond arousing. In 1837, a French Canadian of the name of Papineau raised his standard in much the same spirit shown in recent times by Paul Kruger. The revolt was energetically and wisely met, being put down by General Colborne, an old Waterloo veteran, ultimately raised to the Peerage as Lord Seaton. Papineau was allowed to go to Paris, a constitution was granted to Canada, the French Province was united to the rest of the colony without detriment to French susceptibilities, either as to law, language, or religion. Ultimately, the United Provinces, under a French Premier, have rendered valuable aid to the Empire in a moment of trouble due to an almost exactly similar cause in South Africa. No greater proof can be given of the amendment in spirit all round, nor of the good that may come out of a hearty struggle followed by a just and humane settlement.

One of the most prominent public men of the early Victorian period was the conqueror of Napoleon, a man whose active service had begun in the eighteenth century. The Duke of Wellington was then a very familiar figure in the London streets, where he often walked unattended, or rode with a single groom behind him ; his mighty antagonist had long since fretted himself out on his rock—a modern Prometheus with a British General for his Vulture. Like Napoleon, "the Duke" had but little love for "the people," as a separate organ in the State ; and he was prepared to do all in his power to preserve, as intact as possible,

the existing frame-work of society. It was no part of his business to foresee the future. Heine called Napoleon "Gonfalonier of the Revolution"—an over-statement. Republican Napoleon was not, but with greater truth might Wellington have been called the swordsman of conservatism; for he knew, if only by instinct, what danger was involved in a too sudden breaking up of existing manners and customs. The destruction of feudal privilege was begun by Grey and Russell, in 1830, when they brought forward their first proposals for "Reform," in other words, for such a reconstruction of national representative government as must for ever destroy the privileges of the territorial aristocracy. The Duke regarded this as "fatal to the constitution" (*vide* citation in Maxwell's *Life*, Vol. II. p. 270). Nevertheless, to "take the King out of the hands of the Radicals," he was prepared, as late as May 1832, to introduce "an extensive measure of Reform."

The Duke's anxieties on the subject have been hardly justified. The destruction of feudal privilege has not produced in England that utter disfranchisement of the aristocracy that we see in France. Let us hope that, in our islands, it may rather take the form of raising the lowly with no corresponding depression of other classes—the spelling of Revolution without the R. As servile labour is more and more replaced by machinery, we may approach the ideal condition when all citizens may have the habits of gentlemen. But "the Duke," bred in another system and menaced for many months with mob violence, can hardly deserve blame if he did not perceive this tendency.

It is hard to find a criterion for the just comparison of the two ends of our era. "The Duke's" ideal was a strong centralised system, but the introduction of the ten-pound voter had undermined all that: and things were bound to go further. The rule of the lower middle classes was based, it is to be feared, on narrow and ignoble ideas. The mention of Harrison, the Tenor of old Drury, reminds one of the following display of artistic conception characteristic of the class. A gentleman was manifesting displeasure at Harrison, one night, when his next neighbour in the dress-circle begged him to desist. "I don't like," said the worthy citizen, "to 'ear any one 'iss Mr. 'Arrison." "What," said the other, "not if he sings flat?" "No Sir," was the reply. "'E is a good 'usband, and a good father; and 'is word is as good as 'is bond."

Such was the type of man to whom the Act of 1832 had given the control of our destinies. The constituency of to-day is greatly composed of a different sort of men; persons who use their hands, perhaps, more than they use their heads; who are ambitious and given to ask for

rates of emolument which are inconvenient and even dangerous to the commerce of the country : but they speak good English, have just canons of art, and are more ready to make sacrifices for the Empire than were the believers in Bright and Cobden. The democratic system that has been established among us for the past twenty years, or so, of the 19th century has not been ignoble ; neither can that epithet be fairly held applicable to the aristocratic government that resisted Louis XIV. and ruined Napoleon : but the intervening *régime*, which ruled from the 1832 settlement to the period of household suffrage, can hardly be regarded as anything more than a national eclipse. The proofs are familiar : no cabinet dared to attend to the Duke's almost passionate prayers for national defence ; the war with Russia, entered into without consideration, was conducted in a spirit of scandalous negligence ; Free Trade and Universal Exhibitions were held to be efficient substitutions for public vigilance and private virtue. From that base nightmare our nation has been roused, just in time to save it from becoming the spoil and laughing-stock of Europe. John Bull is no longer the fat man walking in dangerous ways with his pockets unbuttoned, his watch-chain hanging loose, and his stick replaced by a five-shilling umbrella : he is more anxious than of old, but ready to take his own part, and " *gare à qui le touche*."

Having written above concerning fast men at the University, it may not be out of place if I conclude with an experience of a tragical character concerning one of the class, occurring in India, not many years after my entrance into the Service. Having been invited to assist at the terminal examination of a private school in a Hill Station, I observed at one end of the school-room a desk by which was standing a gentlemanly looking young man plainly dressed, with a face that I thought I recognised. On my asking the headmaster who this was, I was told that he was a gunner in the Bengal Artillery attached to the convalescent Depot and officiating as teacher in the school by arrangement with the commandant. His name was said to be " Mortimer " ; but that sounded so very like the sort of name that would be taken by a man anxious to mask himself that I was not satisfied. As I passed his desk I said : " Have we not met before ? " ; and was answered as I expected. The gunner-usher was a man who had been at Christ Church when I was an under-graduate ; the son of an eminent scholar and D.D. ; the name of Mortimer being only a *nom d'emprunt*. On subsequent occasions the whole story came out. My contemporary had got into the toils of a money-lender named Lewis Joel, who, by the help

of a cigar-shop and a showy wife, had endeared himself to many of the gilded youth of the time. Having taken his degree, my friend went to the Bar; but Joel's claims went on—as such things had a special way of doing: and poor —— was threatened with the then very severe operation of the law. At length, in a moment of despair, he was accosted in the now vanished King-Street, Westminster, where the E. I. Company's recruiting agency was then held at a low tavern. It was an opening of escape from Joel: the Sergeant was persuasive, and, in fine, "Mortimer" took the Company's shilling and was sent out to Dum-Dum in the Bengal regiment of Artillery. A few months later he saw in the Home papers that Joel had been convicted of felony and transported! But that, of course, was of no avail to him now; his health broke down in the service; and he was sent to the Depot for change of air. He had influential friends, however, and hoped soon to buy his discharge.

I left the Hills and went to Muzaffarnagar, in 1854: while there I one day got a scrap of paper signed by my friend, asking me to come and see him in the *Sarai* (native inn); and here, sure enough, was Mortimer with a small country-cart, wandering without means or object. At his request I supplied his immediate wants and gave him a letter to the manager of a newspaper published at Meerut, on which he forthwith promised an engagement. But he did not remain there long; and, on being discharged, re-enlisted in the King's Royal Rifles. On the evening of the 10th May, 1857, he was murdered by the mutineers as he was loafing on the Delhi road. Such was the tragical fate of a fast man in the last generation.

CHAPTER IV.

LONDON AND OXFORD DURING TWO GENERATIONS (*continued.*)

The beginning of the Victorian era was a time of hopefulness; and its first decade—to those who can remember it—will appear as one of apogee for the British nation. A famine visited Ireland, which permanently reduced the population, though it may have left no further immediate effect but the repeal of the Corn Laws, and a new impetus to the national prosperity before which the English discontent expressed by Chartism recoiled and collapsed.* The Crimean War had not yet revealed the incompetence of our administration, nor had the Indian Mutiny revealed the thinness of the crust over Plutonian

* All most serious insurrections have had their origin in misery.

forces. Alike in England and in France—so near and yet so far—were laid the foundations of a new Feudalism; and the barons of military conquest were being superseded by the lords of finance. It is said that the famous Headmaster of Rugby—Thomas Arnold—expressed his joy over the opening of the North-Western Railway (then called the London and Birmingham) on the ground that it announced the end of the feudal system. His joy would have been tempered if he had known that it might also indicate the coming of a harder and more ignoble oppression provocative of strife more deadly than the Peasant Wars of the past. It is, indeed, no more than the plain truth that, in England at least, the aristocracy has shown more care for the working-classes than the direct employers of labour and their representatives in the House of Commons.* The French Revolution, too, was begun by the liberal nobles, rather than by the *bourgeoisie*, if we take Mirabeau and Condorcet into account. Less able, perhaps, but more fortunate, the English nobility was able to enter the popular ranks without much suffering, while that of France was swept away or suppressed. Just before the middle of the nineteenth century it may have seemed, in both countries, as if a new oligarchy of capital was to take the whole command, but, in Britain if nowhere else, it was soon to be discovered that prosperity was not to be obtained that way. In the long run, however useful a factor might be the benevolent leadership of culture and capital, it was on their own resources that the rank and file of labour must depend if they were to share in the profits of production and build for permanence the national welfare.

Hence it was but natural that reform should have been at that period represented as coincident with the interests of the middle-classes. So acute an observer as Benjamin Disraeli produced a most successful work of fiction in 1845, with the misspelt title of "Sybil," in which he postulated that we were still "Two Nations."† It was a land of Cockaigne on which the day of Democracy was hardly dawning.

That was the state of affairs at home when the present writer landed in Calcutta during the month of October, 1847. It was a period of apparent prosperity there also. The Governor-General was on his way down the country, after having conquered the Sikhs, and con-

* Instances will be found on the Rolls of Parliament as far back as the reigns of Edward III., and his grandson, where the King and Council, or the House of Lords, refused to sanction bills sent up by the Commons having an oppressive tendency.

† "Sybil; or the Two Nations," was a story of capital and labour. The orthography of the word is, of course, "Sibyl."

cluded treaties with Lahore, Kashmir, and Nepal. He was General Hardinge, famous for his services in the Peninsular War and in the Waterloo campaign—where he lost his left arm; a man of whom the Duke of Wellington testified that he never undertook anything that he did not understand, on whose tomb Queen Victoria was eventually to record that “no sovereign ever possessed a more honest and faithful councillor, a more loyal, fearless and devoted servant.”

The veteran was received in Calcutta with a sort of Roman triumph, the captured Sikh guns—256 in number—being paraded on the *maidan*, and a warm address of congratulation offered by the community (Native and European) culminating ultimately in the erection of a fine statue. His actual appearance at the time was rather pleasing than imperial; a brisk English gentleman, of moderate stature only; with a good forehead, a mild eye, and the clean-shaven countenance of the Wellingtonian school. Though born of a good old stock, the Governor-General was not ennobled until 1846, after the conclusion of the war of which he had shared the labour and peril in person—the last occupant of the post who has done so. He had served as a volunteer by the side of old Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, whom he had been ordered to supersede if he should find it necessary. Hardinge, however, had kept the matter to himself; and in spite of disaster and discussion, maintained his secondary soldiership to the last. When all was over he, as head of the Government, bore liberal testimony to the good qualities of the brave old Irish Chief.

The period of one's arrival in India was that signalled by Hunter as the break between the old and the new Anglo-India.* Just two years earlier Captain Waghorn had delivered “the express portion” of the mail by the overland route, which was permanently established in 1846: though an experimental despatch had been made five years before, taking just two months in transit. Up to these days—and indeed for some time later—our Honourable Masters did not allow their servants leave beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and many, who had been from nine to twelve months on the voyage out, remained forty or fifty years in the country and often left their bones there. One of the last of these old “Qui Hyes” only died during the last nineties—Mr. Fleetwood Williams, C.S.I., who had left England before the introduction of railway-travelling. I think he smoked his *hooqua* to the last. This was a stately tobacco-ceremonial of which no trace remains in European circles, though practised universally in Bengal when I entered

* “Life of Brian Hodgson,” p. 26.

the Service. The manner of it was this : after the ladies left the dining-room—if not before—each man was provided (by a special attendant) with a silver mouth-piece in a bowl of perfumed water ; a strip of carpet being laid behind the chair on which was placed the crystal vase containing the water through which the smoke was to pass and be inhaled in a cooled condition. In the top of this vase was placed the bowl containing the *chillum*—a paste of tobacco and conserve ; a glowing ball of ignited charcoal was laid on this, and the end of the “snake” at the same time introduced under the right-hand arm of your chair. You then inserted the mouth-piece ; and in another minute the room was full of gurgling sound as of camels protesting against their loads. Such was the solemnity witnessed after every Anglo-Indian dinner ; to which it remains to add that it was a deadly affront to step over that portion of the snake which lay upon the carpet.

Another social function of the day was the taking of wine with one another, confined in England to mess-rooms and practised between persons near enough to catch one another's eye. In India, however, it would sometimes happen that a guest at one end of a long table wished to exchange greetings with a friend at the other, whom he knew to be present even if he could barely see him. It even happened occasionally that the parties had quarrelled, and one or both desired to renew amicable relations. In all such cases the man making the overture would send his servant round to the other with the message, “So-and-so sends compliments” (*Sahib salam deta*). On which the recipient was expected to lean forward and “look towards you,” each raising his glass and making a bow over it at the same moment.

We youngsters were supposed to be on probation, being technically described as “in College.” There were not, indeed, any traces left of the collegiate life and discipline that Lord Wellesley had endeavoured to institute a generation earlier ; but there were still periodical examinations to test our progress in Persian and the vernacular of Bengal, or of the North-West Provinces. The pursuit of that curriculum, however, left us abundant leisure, more or less of which was devoted to Society (with a capital S). Sir Lawrence Peel, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Cameron, and some of the military officials tendered us hospitality—more, indeed, than the members of our own Service. Mrs. Cameron was one of the famous Pattle family, sister of the beautiful Virginia, Lady Somers. Her uncle, Colonel Pattle, familiarly known as “Jemmy Blazes,” had been somewhat notorious a few years before on account of his prowess as a *raconteur* ; and many were the anecdotes about him which were

still current in those days. He had risen in the Ninth Bengal Light Cavalry, and commanded the corps at the battle of Miani, where Sir Charles Napier broke the resistance of the Amirs of Sindh in 1843. *Miyan* is the Persian for "scabbard"; and it was related that the colonel accounted for the name of the field in some such terms as these: "In the thick of the *melée* Sir Charles rode up to me, crying, 'By G—Colonel, this is butchery; give me your sword, Sir?' I had, of course, to obey; but my blood was up: calling on my men to follow, I returned to the charge; and—you may believe me or not—killed eleven of the enemy with my empty scabbard. Hence the name."

It seems odd, on looking back, to find that we had more friends among the soldiers than with people of our own cloth. But so it was. Among messes at which I was welcomed, either as a guest or honorary member in those early days, I can particularise those of three British regiments, besides some in the Company's Army, especially the Bengal Artillery.* The officers of that period were less afflicted with examinations and intellectual training than at present; and perhaps had not so much actual experience in war as their immediate predecessors, the followers of Wellington.

Neither in point of conviviality nor of expenditure are the present-day officers likely to emulate the men of old, although the traditions of a Service die hard—especially amongst Britons. But it is obvious that, when the officers of an army are chosen on purely intellectual grounds, they must more and more tend to diverge from the old semi-feudal type. And when one adds the consideration that they work hard all day and—in some cases—pursue professional studies at night, one sees that officers can no longer lead the sort of life depicted, with more or less of accuracy, by Charles Lever and the author of "Guy Livingstone."

Among the picturesque elements now eliminated from British Army life was the practice of private warfare. Duelling—as noticed in a former work†—arose out of the ordeal by battle: it being a result of the form of belief prevalent in the Dark Ages that Providence interposed on behalf of just causes. Something of the same kind again revealed itself when one assumed judicial functions up-country, and found Hindu villages settling boundary-disputes by club-law, or referring them to local arbitrament on the venue, with the traditional adage—*Panch-men Parmeshwar*, or "God is with the five." In the same work it is stated

* The officers of the Native Army were less friendly to our Service than those of the Artillery and of what were then called "Queen's Regiments."

† *Servant of John Company*, p. 76.

that the last duel between Anglo-Indians took place as late as 1855, some time after the practice had died out at Home. It may be presumed that the Anglo-Indian officers hardly shared the belief of their continental predecessors, or their native contemporaries ; they fought each other on all sorts of motives, but not that God should " show the right." Nevertheless, fight they most certainly did, down to the very end of the old *régime* that terminated in the *Année Terrible* of 'Fifty-seve

(*To be continued.*)

H. G. KEENE.

DUMPING: FACTS AND THEORIES.

II.

THE term "dumping" has been recently used in the newspaper Press with an inconvenient indeterminateness which diminishes the chances of our ever distinguishing separate things. Nothing is to be gained by designating by one appellation what may be a legitimate incident of business as well as what may be an excrescence on ordinary business needing to be got rid of by remedial measures. Publicists, dealing with the not very agreeable experience of English manufactures encountering German and American rivals in the markets of the world, have explained it all by "dumping." At first there was a suggestion of something illegitimate on the part of the foreign competitor. It was understood that business was to be conducted on certain principles, that profit, in particular, was the aim of every separate transaction, and that when the foreigner sold goods at a price not profitable to himself, merely in order to clear the market of competing producers, he simply aimed at oppressing the consumer ultimately with the full force of foreign monopoly. Such a producer was said to "dump" his goods on the market, and he was judged as a blackleg who had violated the rules of sport. Gradually, however, the meaning shifted. Instead of being reserved for one special cause—selling below cost—of the phenomenon of effective foreign competition with British goods, the term "dumping" came to be applied to the phenomenon itself, whatever the cause. And in its new meaning, it carries the old association of an opprobrious savour. In what follows, we break away from this extension of meaning, and assign a rigid import to the word. We absolutely exclude from the designation the effects of overproduction or depression in trade, when the producers of the depressed country sell their goods wherever

they can, and for whatever the goods may fetch. Such an overflow of cheap goods disconcerts some industries, and encourages others. By some it may be accepted as an irremediable incident of complex business carried on by non-concurrent individual wills; to others—as to the National Reviewer—it may appear the decisive reason for abandoning the policy of Free Ports in order to minimise the contagion of our neighbour's depression. But it is a case by itself, and does not fall within the region of our investigation. *A fortiori*, we exclude from our review all cases where the foreigner's success is the reward of cheapened processes.

The first essential of "dumping" is that the same producers quote two different prices for two markets. But though this feature is necessary, it is not sufficient to constitute "dumping." As was argued in the preceding article, this difference of quotation may imply no loss, but a real gain, to the producer on each separate transaction; and in this case the phenomenon is not "dumping" proper, but what we have called "quasi-dumping." For dumping, there *should* be a loss on the separate transactions, and ultimate monopoly aimed at to provide more than ample compensation for these losses on individual transactions. In the previous article, I argued that so far as Germany was concerned, there was no evidence that she dumped goods—even iron and steel—in such quantities on England as to cause English trade permanent damage. Evidence there appears to be of two quotations for two markets. I quoted Consul Oppenheimer in my last article. Professor Ashley in his new book on the Tariff Problem mentions that "German nails were sold at home at 115 marks the ton, abroad at 88 marks; wire tacks at home at 250 marks the ton, abroad at 140 marks." The Blue-book from the Board of Trade quotes other instances, but finally reports: "It is, of course, easy to suppose a state of things in which a cartel, or a combination of cartels, might deliberately export at a low price, with the principal or the exclusive aim of injuring and ultimately ruining and bringing to a close a particular industry in a foreign country. But it cannot be said that there is any clear evidence of such action on the part of German combinations, whose export policy up to the present time appears to be *mainly the result of supply exceeding demand in the German market.*" Even the alarmists are beginning to admit that good times are in store for British iron and

steel, and present experience has not justified the anticipation that "dumping" pure and simple can either be a permanent policy, or that it could inflict any appreciable injury on a country with Free Ports.

The case is otherwise with "quasi-dumping." Quasi-dumping has its origin in the profit of it to the quasi-dumping producer, and promises both permanence and injury. It is worth while, therefore, to investigate the conditions which are necessary and sufficient for its existence. Prevalent theories are usually scrappy, and the theories of the writers in the daily and periodical Press are even loosely thought out. I venture to present, in these pages, a systematical enumeration of the conditions, and to show that both protection and combination among producers are necessary, but that no other condition is needed. This is the ordinary prosaic and familiar answer; the only originality I claim for mine is in the completeness of the survey on which the theory is based.

As an illustration of the loose teaching in vogue, let me quote the following lengthy passage from the book on "The German Empire" by "Veritas":—

The Protective system appears to have been favourable to a rapid extension of foreign trade. Under it, some German manufacturers, more especially those who have formed Associations to keep the home prices high, have enjoyed the advantage of being able to sell their products in markets abroad at a lower price than at home, the reason being that the heavy duties on similar imported goods enabled them to make a high profit at home on their sales, which permitted of a great reduction in the selling price of the articles sold in foreign countries. The average profit on both, a high one at home and a low one abroad, afforded a sufficient remuneration on the total cost of manufacture of both sets of articles, and the command of the two markets enabled them to produce commodities in larger quantities, and therefore at a lower average cost of production, than would have been possible had they only been able to count on the inland sales in Germany. This circumstance has often in certain trades given the German merchant a small indirect benefit in neutral markets in countries not manufactured under a protective tariff system. It would, however, appear to be an advantage obtained at the expense of the German consumer at home. But it may be argued that the eventual reduction in cost of production resulting from the enormously increased output afforded by the addition of the demands

of the foreign consumers to those of the home buyers in the end compensates the home consumer for his initial sacrifice by the eventual reduction of the general sale price in Germany also. However this may be, the German protective system has had a considerable effect in assisting portions of the foreign trade of the empire in different parts of the world. The above described effect of the protective tariff system has not been an unexpected result ; for as long ago as 1879, when the debate on the introduction of the all-round protective duties took place in the Reichstag, attention was called to the fact that it would enable German goods to be sold more cheaply abroad than at home, and this foreseen effect was severely criticised by the opponents of the measure as grossly unfair to the German public. Under the shield of the protective system the growth of the syndicates in most branches of trade has lately been rapid. They now control the output and price of many articles of consumption, and there appears to be no remedy to their forcing up the price at home so long as it does not exceed that of an imported similar article after payment of duty. They can often, therefore, afford to sell their goods abroad even under cost price, and thus undersell competitors who do not work under equal conditions.

The suggestion of this account is that Protection enables producers in Germany to raise prices *and* make extra profits ; so that they can afford to sell at less profits or even at a loss abroad. Two criticisms may be offered. *First*, Protection may raise prices but it cannot in a country of freely competing producers leave profits higher than the normal profits of the country. So there are no surplus profits to be fooled away in foreign sales, unless protection is *accompanied* by Monopoly or Combination. *Secondly*, it would occur only to the irrepressible "Man in the Street" or a parvenu undergraduate to throw away money because he has it, to smoke cigarettes wrapped up in bank-note paper because he can afford to do so, or to go in for a losing foreign business to balance the large profits of a thriving home business. Unless there be *profit* in foreign sales, neither individuals nor syndicates are likely to encourage them ; and there is no statutory obligation on German cartels to export the manufactures of the country as there was on the old East India Company. We may add also that the German Syndicates presumably sell abroad at the *highest prices* they can get to clear off all their surplus goods. If they consent to sell abroad at prices lower than

they can get at home, it must be because competition abroad is able to supply the foreign demand at those prices.

It will now be convenient if I explain my views, not in an abstract form as I ultimately shall, but by taking as nearly as possible the actual figures of the Indian cotton industry. Let it be remembered then that a cotton mill in India has to put up 1,000 looms for an annual product of three million lbs. of grey cloth. The annual value of this cloth product would be a million and a half of rupees. To feed these 1,000 looms with yarn, 22,000 spindles would be required. The total fixed capital would cost about 20 lakhs, * of which 6 lakhs would be spent on land and building accommodation, 1¼ lakhs on engines and boilers, and 12¼ lakhs on other plant. The estimated annual value of the product would provide for profits at 6 per cent. on fixed capital, depreciation and repairs at 5 per cent. on the same, and there would be other *fixed charges* which form about 13 per cent. of fixed capital—such as superior establishment, interest, insurance, a portion of engine charges &c. The other charges—cotton, wages paid by piece-work, coal, stores, &c., may be called "*proportional*" charges, because they rise or fall with the amount of the product, whereas the fixed charges rise or fall with the number of spindles and looms, and are the same for the product whether the machinery is worked at its highest capacity, or it goes slacker. The annual value of the product when the machinery is worked to its fullest capacity, may be taken at 15 lakhs, which will be distributed as follows:—

Profit	...	...	...	...	Rs.	1,20,000
Depreciation and Repairs	...	...	...	...	"	1,00,000
Other fixed charges	...	...	...	...	"	2,68,000
						<hr/>
Total fixed charges	...	...	...	...	"	4,88,000
Proportional charges	...	...	...	...	"	10,12,000
						<hr/>
Total value	...	...	...	...	"	15,00,000

Next, let us see what would happen if a mill of double the number of spindles and looms were put up. *First*, there would be a saving on capital cost, the land and building would cost 9 lakhs

* A lakh = 100,000 rupees = £ 6,666.

(instead of 12), and the engines and boilers would cost 3 lakhs (instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$), and the remainder of the machinery would cost $24\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, making a total capital of about $36\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs (instead of 40 lakhs). *Secondly*, the "other fixed charges," instead of doubling would increase only by 70 per cent. Thus the cost of production may be written down as follows :—

Cost of Production.	For the first 3 million lbs.	Extra cost for the second 3 million lbs.
	Rs.	Rs.
I. Profit on Capital	1,20,000	99,000
II. Depreciation and Repairs :—		
Building	10,000	5,000
Engines, Boilers and Machinery	90,000	85,000
III. Other fixed charges	2 68,000	1,87,600
IV. Proportional charges	10,12,000	10,12,000
V. Total cost	15,00,000	13,88,600
	Rs. a. p.	...
VI. Mean cost $\left(\frac{C}{Q}\right)$ per lb.	0 8 0	Rs. a. p.
VII. Differential cost per lb. $\left[\frac{\Delta C}{\Delta Q}\right]$ ... ..	...	0 7 5
	Rs. a. p.	
VIII. Average cost per lb. $\left[\frac{C+\Delta C}{Q+\Delta Q}\right]$	0 7 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	

We thus see that by doubling the capacity of a cotton mill we may reduce "average cost" per lb. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and reduce the cost per lb. of the extra product by 7 per cent. Let us now imagine that there is one mill with 22,000 spindles and 1,000 looms in British Deccan, and another such mill in the Nizam's territories. It should be well-known that the Nizam's Government protects its cottons mills by a duty on imports; and let us exaggerate that duty and take it to be 30 per cent. There is assumed to be only one cotton mill in the Nizam's dominions, unhampered by any competition of the domestic hand-loom weavers. Let it be further granted that the local demand would easily buy 3 million lbs. of grey cloth annually at ten annas per lb., but that for every 100,000 lbs. more put on the market the price would rapidly fall by 1 pie per lb. The British Deccan mill may be taken to be precisely similarly situated

with the exception of the frontier tariff; unhampered by local competition, with a demand at 10 annas per lb. for 3 million lbs., but 1 pie per lb. less for every hundred thousand extra lbs. put on the market; the production being capable of indefinite extension but only under the same company. We have, then, two monopolies, one protected against disturbance from abroad, the other not exempt from foreign competition. The Nizam mill's cost of production for 3 million lbs. is half a rupee per lb. (including 6 per cent. profit on capital). Less than 3 million lbs. will not be produced if it has been previously ascertained that the relation between price and cost leaves maximum profit at this figure; and also because with the import duty of 30 per cent. the British Deccan mill would be able to compete only at 10 annas a lb., the rate for which the consumption is fully 3 million lbs. Now, to sell more than 3 million pounds in the Nizam market would diminish profits; for the price would fall by 1 pie on the whole of 3 million lbs. consumed, a reduction in realisation not compensated by the profit on the extra 100,000 lbs. sold. Let me put the matter clearly in figures. I include 6 per cent. profit on capital in cost. If by increased sales of cloth, *less* than 6 per cent. be earned on the extra cloth sold, the Mill will not submit to this extra sale, as it can invest its extra capital at 6 per cent. elsewhere. If the Nizam Mill sell 3 million lbs. at 10 annas a pound, there is a surplus profit of 6 million annas. If it sell 3,100,000 lbs. at Rs. 0-9-11, the realisation will be more, but the cost will be still more increased, so that the net profit would be less. Thus:—

	Case I.	Case II.
	Sale, 3 million lbs. at 10 annas	Sale, 3,100,000 lbs. at As. 9-11
Realisation ..	30,000,000 annas	30,742,000 annas.
Cost at 8 annas per lb. ...	24,000,000 „	24,800,000 „ *
Balance* of Surplus Profit ...	6,000,000 „	5,942,000 „

* The cost of the extra 100,000 lbs. will be 20,000 pies less or 2,000 annas less than here estimated. This would make the surplus profit in case II., 5,944,000 annas.

The Nizam Company would do well not to sell in their own market more than 3 million lbs. of grey cloth annually.*

The price of 10 annas per lb. will be realised, as no local competition exists to reduce it, and foreign competition cannot sell for less than cost *plus* duty—*i. e.* not less than 10 annas per lb.

The Deccan mill, however, cannot so sell its produce in its home market. If its monopoly had been protected against the Nizam mills, it would have sold 3 million lbs. at the rate of 10 annas per lb. in its own market. But at that rate, the protected mill of the Nizam would pour its goods into the Deccan, and make realisation at that rate impossible. We must now study wherein would lie the maximum profit of both mills, without a direct arrangement between each other. And to simplify our reasoning, let us assume that the Deccan mill is somehow bound to put on the market 3 million lbs. at the very least. It is clear that at any price under 10 annas per lb. the sale of more than 3 million lbs. of its produce would only entail a diminution of its surplus profit. I beg the reader not to forget that throughout I am talking of *surplus* profits—*i. e.* profits realised after 6 per cent. on fixed capital is charged to the "cost of production." Therefore the Deccan mill will sell 3 million lbs. of grey cloth in its own market. The Nizam mill will also look to its own maximum advantage; and that will consist in placing on the British Deccan market just so much of its cloth that if more were offered, the diminution of price would involve a diminution of its surplus profit. That amount will be 1,300,000 lbs. of cloth. So much sold in the Deccan would reduce the Deccan price to 8 annas 11 pies per lb. The cost of this to the mill would be at the rate of about 7 annas 9 pies per lb.,

* Mathematically, the arguments, perhaps not clearly expressed in the text, may be represented as follows:—

Let c be the total cost of producing a quantity q , sold at the price p in the monopoly market, p and c are both functions of q , such that $\frac{d p}{d q}$ is always negative, and

$\frac{d c}{d q}$ always positive; c includes the ordinary expected profits. The monopolist will so

sell that $p \cdot q - c = \text{a maximum}$;

differentiating, $p \cdot dq + q \cdot dp - dc = 0$; or $\left(p - \frac{d c}{d q}\right) dq = -q \cdot dp$;

that is, the surplus profit on the extra quantity put on the market at this point must just equal the loss in the realisation on the whole of the old quantity put on the market.

and there would thus be a surplus profit of 1 anna 2 pies per lb., or a total of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million annas. The sale of 200,000 lbs. more would diminish this surplus profit.

Thus the difference in the two quotations of the Nizam mill is 13 pies, or about 11 per cent. But only so much because monopoly in both areas enables even the lower quotation to yield more than double the normal profit of business. If the Deccan mill lost its monopoly, there would be over-production, and price would be much depressed, and would probably go below 8 annas per lb.

If the Nizam mill lost *either* the protection or the monopoly, its price must go below 8 annas per lb. Without monopoly, its profits would be reduced to the average; without protection, with or without monopoly, its price must be assimilated to that of the Deccan mill.*

To further illustrate this result, let us suppose that there are two hundred areas, each with an identical law of consumption, a demand in each for 3 million lbs. of grey cloth at 10 annas per lb., with a diminution in price of 1 pie per lb. for every 100,000 lbs. consumed in the area. Let one hundred of these areas be protected for the benefit of the mills of the Nizam; one hundred are free areas with an open door to every seller. If the Nizam mills form *one* company, they would start 50 mills, each producing 6 million lbs. for the protected market, to be sold at 10 annas per lb. We have seen that the average cost with ordinary profit in such a mill is 7 annas 9 pies per lb. The mills would be earning a net surplus profit of 2 annas 3 pies per lb., or a total surplus profit of $13\frac{1}{2}$ million annas each. They would do nothing to diminish this surplus profit by foreign sales. If they could get abroad anything above 7 annas 9 pies per lb., they would put up more mills, otherwise not. But at the rate of 7 annas 9 pies per lb. the freely competing and unprotected British mills of the Deccan would be prepared to supply any demand. And, therefore, these mills are by no means incommoded by the competition of the protected country, as is generally assumed. The Nizam mills will have two quotations—10 annas for the home market, and 7 annas 10 pies for the foreign market; the foreign quotation would be lower than the home quotation by about 22 per cent.; but even the lower quotation will give more than the ordinary remuneration to the

* Cost of carriage is neglected throughout this inquiry.

Deccan mills. The higher home quotation is made possible by monopoly and protection conjoined. Remove the protection and the Deccan mills can make any price higher than 7 annas 9 pies per lb. anywhere impossible. Remove the monopoly, and the rush for the high profits within the protected area would bring about overproduction, and the reduction of profits to the normal.

There is, indeed, a current belief that individual producers in protected countries divide their production into two parts, one for home consumption at stiff prices, the other for foreign consumption at reduced prices. The conception is a mistake. Where there are two prices, producers will make a rush for the market with the higher quotation. However much the home market may be protected from foreign competition, nothing can protect prices against home competition except an effective combination of producers. Such combinations are called trusts, syndicates, or cartels. A mere understanding between producers is shown by experience to be futile ; it is always greatly to the advantage of individuals to break the understanding either in the hope that others will adhere to it, and then the resultant depression of price would be small ; or in the fear that no others will keep the understanding, and then the loyalty of one would be ineffectual to avert the depression. The only effective arrangement would be to give a bonus on export, so that to the producers it should be indifferent whether goods are consumed abroad or at home. Governments might give the bonus, as in the case of sugar, if their object be to enlarge the cultivation of beet even at a heavy cost. But Government bounties are unnecessary if syndicates of producers have a general fund from which they might give bonuses for export. The general fund would be contributed by individual producers, because the whole body of producers gains by keeping the home quotation high, and by selling a part of the produce abroad at above differential cost.

This theory, no doubt, explains many existing facts ; and until I began this paper, I myself had not advanced beyond it. But now it should be obvious that the embarrassment which cartels and trusts are supposed to cause to producers in Free Trade countries can only be an evil of transition. If, indeed, there are a hundred cotton mills in existence, and if they are of the size of maximum economy, and if they *then* unite, the output of all these hundred

mills would have to be put on the market ; and as it is a dead loss to put more than a certain proportion on the home market, all the balance must overflow to the unprotected area. If the unprotected area had not been previously supplied by the protected country, then there is hardly any limit to the depression of price ; but recovery would take place at some time ; population and consumption would increase, and when normal conditions have been re-established, it would be to the advantage of the syndicate not to increase the number of mills and production, but to sell all that it is possible to sell for a fixed price on the home market, and only turning over the *balance* to the foreigner—a balance which must be daily reduced. The Deccan mills can put any quantity of grey cloth on the market at 7 annas 9 pies per lb.; if to undersell them, the syndicate quote 7 annas 7 pies per lb., the case would stand thus :—

	Pies.
Home quotation of the Syndicate per lb....	120
Quotation for Foreign Consumption ...	91
<hr/>	
Bonus to be granted per lb. exported ...	29 (or 24 per cent.)
Surplus profit to each producer on home	
sales per lb.	24 = (120—96)
Do. on Foreign Sales	17 = (91—90)
Average profit per lb. sold	$12\frac{1}{2} = \frac{24+17}{2}$

The whole profit of the Nizam mills would; thus be $12\frac{1}{2} \times 300$ million pies. The receipts in the shape of bounties are cancelled by what is paid as subscription to enable the syndicate to distribute bounties. But it would not escape observation, that if the syndicate had only 50 mills on hand to minister to the home consumer only, and if its monopoly were undisturbed, its profit per lb. would be 27 pies (120—93), and the aggregate surplus profit of the syndicate would be 27×150 million pies. This is in excess of the profits of the 100 mills by 300 million pies. The syndicate as a whole would be out of pocket by so much by trying to undersell the foreigner.

I hope I have made clear that the mere factor of cheapness on the enlargement of the sale of production will not contribute more than a fraction of the observed difference between home and foreign quotations ; that even this amount cannot be maintained except by

monopolist producers in a protected country ; but that the monopoly and protection once secured, a further difference in the two quotations may be maintainable if the home demand be favourable. Without concurrence among home producers, the home market would be swamped to earn its higher price, and nothing would be sent abroad ; without protection, the goods sent abroad more cheaply would return for sale in the dearer market. But protection and monopoly being once established, the home market would be squeezed for all it was worth ; and it would soon be perceived that (unless there was superfluous capital and labour in the protected country ready to accept lower returns) restriction of production to the wants of the home market was really the more profitable part of the business. Additions to the production which, either by design or accident, would embarrass foreign rivals, would bring no money to the syndicate of producers in the protected country.

RECAPITULATION.

The attention of men has recently been called to two concurrent phenomena or rather impressions about phenomena—the fall in the value of the exports of Free Trade England to some protected countries, and the rise in the value of the exports of some of these protected countries. As protection was hitherto supposed to be an advantage only in the home market, and was considered an incumbrance in the competition for the world market, this phenomenon has called for a revision of accepted notions. One explanation offered is that protection enables the charge of extortionate prices in the home market ; that these mean such high profits that losses can be sustained with equanimity on exported produce. But this explanation errs in two directions ; first, protection does not permit more than ordinary profits if there be free competition at home ; and secondly, there is no need to throw away large gains on losing business.* Nevertheless, as in the cases adduced by

* The B. T. Blue Book (p. 306, footnote) quotes an astonishing statement made in the Prussian Landtag : " The Union of German wire-drawers has made a profit of £60,000 in its home trade, but lost £42,950 on its foreign trade. This sum of £42,950 constitutes a tax which the Kartell has levied on the German consumers, in order to be in a position to sell their goods cheaper by that amount abroad." The reader will, no doubt, wonder with me what obligation there was on the Kartells to drop three-fourths of their profits merely for the luxury of swelling the export figures of Germany. It may be said that a fact is a fact, and that it is no use arguing that it is not. But a

Consul Oppenheimer, Professor Ashley and the Board of Trade Blue-book, there can be no question of very substantial differences in the quotations for the home market and for foreign consumption. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, even in Free Trade Scotland,* the Plate-makers' Association is prepared to sell boiler-plates abroad at £1 per ton below the home price. Two quotations of price do not necessarily imply that the lower quotation involves loss to the seller. Before accepting this, one has to make certain that the higher quotation is just equal to cost *plus* normal profit. Where protection and monopoly together enable the exaction of an extortionate home price, there, for any article, the quotation for foreign consumption may be 30 or 40 per cent. lower and yet not below cost. But protection against imported goods, and monopoly in the home market there has to be. Without protection, the goods sent cheaply abroad would return; without monopoly in the home market, there would be over-production to take possession of the protected market, neglect to keep home supplies short by sales to the foreigner, and a general reduction of prices to the normal limit. The protection need not be artificial; it was, no doubt, the natural protection of the cost of carriage which enabled the Scotch plate-makers to offer a reduction of £1 per ton to their foreign customers. The difference of prices in the two markets cannot exceed the sum of the import duty and the cost of carriage back.

Protection and monopoly are indispensable; they are also sufficient. Many of us have, to some extent, been led astray by the allurements of cheapening cost with the increasing scale of manufacture. We have hoped to discover that even if the home price be strictly normal, and no higher than the mean cost of the quantity consumed

statement in the Landtag no more attests a fact than Mr. Chamberlain's reiteratives witness the alleged stagnation of British exports. In fact, the Memorandum of the B. T. warns us that newspapers hostile to Trusts are not reliable witnesses, and that sometimes the lower quotations to foreigners are merely the incident of long-standing contracts made when the prices ruling at home were also lower.

* Not only may a Free-trade country dump, but even a dumping country may be dumped upon. The Bohemian mine-owners have put on the German market in considerable quantities for sale "at any price obtainable," with serious results for the lignite mines of Germany. (Blue-Book, p. 303.) Moreover, the most habitual recipients of German dumped goods appear to be the good continental neighbours—Austria-Hungary, France, Belgium, Russia—all protected countries.

home, still, since larger production implies greater cheapness, the cheaper quotation to the foreigner would correspond to the cheaper differential cost. In this case, no less than in the case of commodities whose cost of production does not diminish with the amount produced, protection and combination are indispensable, and for the same reasons. Though more than ordinary profits might be made if each producer observed a tacit understanding to sell a proportion of produce abroad, still, each producer would hope to get more than this profit by selling his individual produce at the higher figure ruling at home; and there would thus be a glut in the home market. To prevent this breakdown of the home price, trusts and cartels give a bonus to producers in proportion to the produce exported—the amount of the bonus being such that it is indifferent to the manufacturer whether his goods are sold at home or abroad. The success of the German syndicates makes this theory highly plausible; but it should be remembered that the instances of Consul Oppenheimer, the Board of Trade Blue-Book, and Professor Ashley show differences in the two prices much larger than will be accounted for by the differences between “mean” and “differential” costs. Some suspicion of this led me to make an inquiry into the possible differences in the cloth trade; and I find that the mean cost for home consumption would be higher by 7 per cent. than the differential cost of the quantity for foreign consumption, and higher by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. than the average cost of the whole. In the iron business, I believe that with taller furnaces and larger daily output it is possible to introduce economic processes involving much higher savings. Still, the great observed differences of price in two markets must be assigned principally to protection and monopoly. The expenditure on all salaries—as distinguished from wages—in a weaving mill in Bombay where this item is unusually high is just 2 per cent. of the value of output.

In my article last month, I argued that if this difference between mean and differential cost were large, it would be an embarrassing development for producers in Free Trade countries in the case of certain commodities. Producers in these countries, unable to make a wall between two markets, cannot permanently sell below the “average” cost of their whole produce for home and foreign consumption; protection would prevent them from selling in protected countries, and

everywhere else the producers of the protected countries would sell for the differential cost which would be below the average cost of the Free Trade producer—other things being equal. I explained that this awkwardness was not material in practice, because other things are not equal. I have shown in this article that the difference between mean and average and differential costs would usually be small ; and it would be smaller if home consumption be small in the protected country and large in the free country. It would be smaller still if the cost of production, quantity for quantity, in the protected country be greater than in the country of free imports. There is some reason to believe that the cost of assembling for iron production in Germany is greater than in Great Britain. Moreover, the articles sold abroad at differential cost form the raw material of higher manufacture* whose cost is thereby cheapened to the Free Trade country, and made exceedingly dear to the protected country. Finally, trusts and syndicates are liable to invite the competition of other such monsters in the protected region ; and when there are competing combinations, the rivals will not battle like frogs and mice ; the high home quotations in the home market come down with a crash, and there is no point in pressing goods on foreign markets.

I am afraid I overlooked a main factor brought out in the first part of this second article. There is a limit to the economy obtainable by the extension of business. In concerns requiring minute attention to detail on the part of the chief, the limit is soon passed ; but in every kind of production the limit comes at last. The cost of transmission to scattered consumers at long distances often nullifies the economy of generating electricity on a large scale ; the fixed salary of the Professor may become too thinly distributed over hundreds of students when it becomes necessary to bring binoculars to the lecture-room to see the demonstrations on the lecture-table. I doubt if in the cloth business, a concern with a fixed capital of over a crore of rupees is really economical. Whatever savings are possible are usually more than balanced by the difficulty of supervision, or the growing carelessness of the staff. In fact, the chief economy

* "Among all the syndicates those controlling raw material and half-finished goods proved themselves the most powerful and hardest masters," (B. T. Blue Book, p. 308). Among the raw materials dumped are coal and coke ! The German has not the scruple about exporting coal and machinery that Mr. Balfour feels.

to be suggested is day and night work with two or three shifts; and the economy of even that is disputed.

Take, then, the case of any commodity in which the limit of economy is passed, and many concerns of maximum size for economy are needed to meet the home demand alone. Even if these concerns are under one manipulation, and are rigidly protected against imports, still it will pay the united concerns best to confine themselves to the home demand. If they should handle the foreign demand at all, it would not be business to meet it at less than the "average cost." If the "average cost" of the protected country be less than the "average cost" of the Free Trade producer, the latter cannot complain, if undersold; if it be equal or greater than the price of the Free Trade producer, he cannot complain of being undersold. Altogether, the distress to Free Trade producers from quasi-dumping is incapable of being substantiated by theory or experience, except in the case of commodities where indefinite extension of business means indefinite cheapness of production. These commodities must be few. *

In the last article, I found no case for legislation against "dumping"; in the present paper, "quasi-dumping" does not appear less

* This argument is capable of being presented algebraically with instructive succinctness. Let there be n factories, each producing $(x+y)$ the quantity of maximum economy; x of this is produced at a mean cost m , and sold at the monopoly price p at home; y is produced at the differential cost d , and sold abroad at the price q . The relation between mean and differential cost is,

$x, m+y, d = (x+y)a$ where a is the average cost of the whole factory. From this $(m-a)x = (a-d)y$; or $m = a + \frac{y}{x}(a-d)$.

The surplus profit of a factory would be $x(p-m) + y(q-d)$; and the whole surplus profit of the Syndicate would be $P = n[x(p-m) + y(q-d)]$

$$= n \left[x \left(p - a - \frac{y}{x}(a-d) \right) + y(q-d) \right]$$

$$= n [x(p-a) + y(q-a)] = (nx)(p-a) + (ny)(q-a).$$

This profit diminishes if q or the foreign price be less than a (the average cost). In other words, to a syndicate of factories, it makes no difference in profit whether each factory separately sell for home and foreign consumption or whether certain factories be reserved for home and certain for foreign consumption. When the matter is put in that way, it is quite clear that the price for home consumption is independent of sales abroad, and that therefore whatever is sold abroad for less than the average cost is dead loss. This is the really vital part of my investigation, and it should be again pointed out that its validity rests on the recognition of a limit to the law that extension means cheapening of production.

harmless ; if we do discover that to protected European countries, Germany is exporting more and more, and Britain less and less, we shall not look to the blessings of protection for the explanation, but to an advantageous geographical position for one thing ; and for another thing to greater science, harder work, superior tact, more cordial accommodation of producers to the taste of the consumers, and greater facilities of credit to buyers. Another partial explanation may be found in a general law which I hope to develop in my promised article on the interpretation of Tables of Exports. The law is that in a country which buys its necessities of life from abroad, the cheapening of the cost of living necessarily tends to limit exports of the more necessary manufactures, but not their production. The heightened home demand for these manufactures takes the place of the foreign demand, if, that is to say, the foreigner can afford to produce manufactures for his own consumption.

CONCLUSION.

The loud demand for protection against foreign dumping in England embraces three different kinds of phenomena which need to be distinguished. The Board of Trade Blue-book admits that there is no evidence (1) that foreigners systematically, and at a loss, undersell British producers to drive them from their own market. There *is* evidence (2) for over-production of goods in protected countries beyond the digestive capacity of the protected markets. In such cases, foreign goods, particularly iron and steel, may no doubt have been sold in England at a figure lower than what would be quoted under ordinary circumstances. But this is a natural, if occasionally disconcerting, incident of the complex business of the present day ; and instead of putting a duty on these overproduced goods, the better course would be to anticipate such deflections, and provide against them. If such a provision could be made, foreign "dumping" of this sort would be pure *gain* to the country dumped upon. Here again there is no call for tariff remedies, any more than there is for protection against prison-made goods or the bargains at auction sales. Lastly, (3) there *is* evidence for quasi-dumping. German Kartells and American Trusts can and do quote a much higher price at home than they do to their British customers. The tariff walls of those countries and the combinations of producers together make such differences of price

possible. The present article has shown that the increasing cheapness of production on a large scale will not account for more than 4 or 5 per cent. difference of price ; the bulk of the difference will have to be explained by the high monopoly price realised in the home market by combined producers protected against competition. This article has further proved that there is a limit to the law of increased cheapness for production on a large scale ; and that when this limit comes into operation, the Trusts and Kartells *cannot* profitably quote lower than the "average" cost of production to the Syndicates. British manufacturers will not be undersold if their cost of production is the same as that of their rivals ; they cannot complain of German underselling if their own cost is higher than the German. I may, then, claim to have demonstrated that whatever may be the case for Tariff Reform in Britain, "Dumping" is no part of that case. To continue to insist on it is to be afflicted with "Dumpophobia"—the expressive name recently given by Mr. Asquith to the prevalent mental ailment of renegade journalists and politicians.

B. J. PADSHAH.

"SWEET ARE THE USES OF ADVERSITY."

NO beginning can be better than the beginning of all things. We will therefore start as close to the creation of the world as possible, and take a glimpse of Adam stepping out of Eden. Now, when he was told to depart from Paradise, he was probably unaware of the pre-ordained blessing that was being conferred upon him. Yet, if we consider what that blissful state of inertia must have meant in the long run, we cannot join in the mournful regrets which thousands of generations have devoted to his ejection.

It is of course always a disagreeable thing to be kicked out, whether it be from a club, or from Paradise, or from a social position of wealth and idleness. But if Adam could have read Shakespeare, he no doubt after a time would have agreed with that lexicographer of the world's wisdom. And he would have had better cause to agree than the good Duke in exile in the forest of Arden, for in the mouth of the latter it is more or less an idyllic aphorism, whereas Adam learnt its truth in its most essential form—the necessity of work and the salvation in it. When misfortune overtakes a man, many of us will give him our full sympathy and say: "It is hard lines!" But the majority is wiser and says: "It serves him right!" So it does in reality—that is to say, the man was evidently worthy of better things and he has now a chance of attaining them. This is, perhaps, a novel interpretation of a much used and seemingly uncharitable saying, but it is a more correct one than we always realise.

Let us consider what these better things are to the man who (whether through his own fault or that of others, matters little) has lost wealth and position, or possibly only the hope of obtaining them. He will naturally go through a first stage of hankering after the fleshpots of Egypt, but like the children of Israel after their

first period of misgiving in the desert, our friend will soon discover a land flowing with milk and honey. He will make one first and foremost discovery. He will see how easy it is to "do without"; almost at the same time he will learn to recognise the advantages of this "doing without." His necessities of the past will soon seem to him fetters, and he will be filled with wonder at the thought that he could ever have worn them. Finally, he will realise that luxurious living is a pitfall to his freedom and energy of manhood.

The one necessity of his happiness in his present state is health, — luckily it is usually its concomitant. And there are several evident reasons for this. First of all, there will probably have been a salutary shaking-up of his nerves and brain forces, and the mere fact that he is now obliged to struggle will have made him alert and active of mind, and this will most likely react as a stimulant to his body. Then there are those little excesses he was wont to consider so harmless—nay, even the every-day routine of eating and drinking indulged in by people of his position and classed as "refined living." Doctors are now beginning to tell us that the upper and moneyed classes habitually overfeed themselves, and that half their ills are traceable to an overburdened digestion. All this must needs now fall away for our friend, and his body benefits by never having too much, or what in his unregenerate days he would have called "*enough*." His bread is no longer paid for from dividends; it is essentially his daily bread, and as such he is more likely to "return thanks" for it.

Most of us know men who have recently gone through all the privations and hardships of war, and who, going out soft and pale-faced children of ease and luxury, have come back (if indeed they have returned) bronzed and strong; each by many inches more a man than before he went. And this in spite of the harrowing tales he can tell of days and even weeks of hard marching on little more than two biscuits a day (*N. B.*—Not exactly afternoon-tea biscuits.)

There is, of course, one great privilege missed by him whom misfortune has assailed and banished from his Eden—perhaps the greatest privilege—in that his giving up of wealth is enforced and not voluntary. Adversity has come upon him and compelled him to give up all the hundred and one good things that were his. But

what about Rudyard Kipling's Purum Dass? He, a Brahmin of the highest caste, a prime minister of some Native State, and a Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire, gives up all glory and position to become a wandering sunnyasi, and finally a hermit at Kali's shrine. Here we have a distinct illustration of the benefit of giving up wealth and power, for this man is evidently absolutely happy. There is also a certain young Jewish lawyer to whom the advice was given, if he wanted to attain the perfection of happiness, to sell all that he had, and give it to the poor. This is, indeed, a feat of almost superhuman power—for all we know, it may result in almost superhuman bliss.

Yet these cases only illustrate the benefit of giving up the luxuries of life and with being content in having but its simplest wants supplied, and they seem to hint that much of true happiness and content lies in this direction. They do not, however, emphasise the next great step. They are silent, so that each may discover for himself, and that in later days some discoverers may publish on the housetops their discovery—the ultimate Salvation that lies in work. Salvation from gloom and despair and worrying—therefore happiness. This forms so great a part of the creed of the psychologists of our day. One of the first expounders of the Gospel of Work is Spielhagen, in his "*Hammer und Ambos*." Zola was never weary of writing on this theme. The Gospel of Work is the great truth preached by Tolstoi in all his writings; and in his very life he seeks to carry out his belief. And there are many other writers, both of fact and fiction, who all sound the same note.

Men have again and again stepped out of the crowd and tasted for themselves the paradoxical joys of hardship, privation and work. Each of these men has felt that these have helped the growth of his manhood and given him a buoyant sense of happiness such as can only arise from a fully developed activity of mind and energy of body. Women, too, are now experiencing the fact that there is a happiness in work for which in some cases they are even prepared to forego the more personal happiness of the domestic hearth. And such of them who do not possess a domestic hearth of their own are jubilant in the discovery that there are many phases of happiness and joy untold in all-engrossing work.

Sweet, indeed, are the uses of adversity, for without adversity to compel us in the first instance to work, we should never have made the discovery that work and happiness are so closely allied as to be, in some instances, convertible terms.

R. v. ROSENBERG.

BADRIKASHRAMA.

BADRIKASHRAMA has been the favourite resort of Hindu ascetics from the time of the Mahabharata ; and those to whom a life of contemplation was more attractive than living in a world full of troubles and cares, always resorted to it to pass their days in happy seclusion. The ashrama of the rishis Nara-Narayana was the place where Narada went in order to perfect his devotion. It was the place where Krishna himself lived as an ascetic, and where he advised his friend Uddhava to go and pass the rest of his days. It was the place where the Pandavas went on retirement from the cares of sovereignty, and where the Hindus of old placed their swarga or heaven. To a student of Hindu religion and philosophy, places which Sankara, Vyasa and Vashishtha and others trod, can not but be associated with all that is good and noble, and it has ever been the ambition of the seeker of retirement to live in jungles where the Upanishadas were read and commented upon, where the rishis discussed the mysteries of Brahma-vidya and realised the truth of what is taught in the Vedas, not merely by argument, but by contemplation of the grandest scenery in the world, a scenery which by its majestic grandeur forbids man from prying into it, but tells him to sit in awe and admiration at the work of Him who made it what it is. It was with thoughts like these that I started on a tour in the hills of Badrinath, and can now say without fear of contradiction that no place in the world is grander than the Himalayas, no place more conducive to elevation of thought than the hills of Badrinath.

I left Agra on the 6th May and reached Kathgodam the next morning. Thence to Bhimtal is an easy ascent by a good road of about 8 or 9 miles. Bhimtal is largely resorted to on account of its charming lake and mild climate. The lake is very deep, and its waters irrigate a large portion of the country. It is about 5,580 feet long, and 1,490 feet broad, and is about 100 feet deep. The height above the sea level is about 4,500 feet, and altogether it is a very quiet little station to live in. From Bhimtal to Almorah is about 28 miles through hills dotted with tea and fruit gardens, rice and wheat-fields, wild roses, walnuts and other trees for miles round. This is the Kumaon district. The people of the place are hardy mountaineers, though not so hardy as those of Garhwal. They are free from many of the evils which beset the poor of the plains. They appeared to me to be a good, sober lot, contented with tilling their fields and paying their rent to the Government and living upon what they could save after satisfying the revenue demand. The country is

divided into a number of small farms where the farmer pays his rent direct to the Government. There are no zemindars, except in a few places. Each farmer owns the little farm of which he pays the rent. Rice, wheat, *madua* are the principal crops. The rent is paid at so much per nali, and 20 nalis make an acre. In some places, it is about 2 annas per nali. Each village has its Pradhana or headman, who looks after its local affairs and through whom revenue is paid to Government. Some of these headmen appeared to me to be very good, intelligent men. One of them whom I met between Ganai and Mahalchori knew some English, and was a man of refined tastes. The most noticeable feature among the tenantry of the place was their deeply religious feeling. Some of those who were impressed as coolies seemed to be more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religion than those whom they carried. From Bhimtal to Deodwara and Peura, thence to Almorah, is two journeys, through lovely scenery in places picturesque like a panorama. In the morning it is very refreshing to walk in those lonely hills with the birds in the trees for your companions, and flowers shedding their sweetest fragrance all round. Here you have truly what is called the May of English poets. At Almorah they seemed to suffer from scarcity of water, because of the springs having dried up for want of rains; otherwise it is a very good place to live in. Bikat Bani is an artificial forest laid out near the town, and it is always refreshing to walk there in the morning. The town stands on the crest of a ridge and its fort has played an important part in the history of its rulers. It has been in the possession of the British since the conclusion of the Gurkha war of 1815 and is now the headquarters of the Kumaon district. The population is mostly Hindu, the Brahmans being the most advanced and prosperous members of the community. They stand foremost in point of education and occupy almost all places of trust under Government. The Kshatriyas are not all prosperous but the Vaishyas are. A most noticeable feature among the Vaishyas of the place is that they freely take girls in marriage from the Kshatriyas, who as freely intermarry with them as with the Brahmans; also, that all classes of people freely eat animal food. From the caste names of the Brahmans—Joshi, Punth, &c.—it is certain that they are foreign to the soil of Kumaon and have come to live here from the Mahratta country. Their features also point to a southern origin. The marriage customs of the people are said to be more closely allied to the system described by Manu than those of any other portion of the Hindus of the present day. It is not, as Mr. Burn, the Census Superintendent for the United Provinces, says in his report, that a Dom who is a member of the lowest caste in Kumaon, can marry his daughter to a Khus Rajput or a Vaishya; but that Vaishyas do intermarry with Rajputs is certain. There are two classes of Rajputs here, the real Rajputs and the Khus Rajputs. The latter are people who are said to have become degraded on account of connections with lower tribes. Similarly, there are the Khus Brahmans and the real Brahmans. But I did not find any Brahman real or Khus, nor any Vaishya marrying in a Dom family. The statement, therefore, that “there are few Banyas or Vaishyas, and these also intermarry with Doms on the one side and with the Khus Rajputs on the other,” as contained on page 216 of the Census report, is due to misinformation. ¹

questioned about 500 Vaishyas who were present at a meeting convened for the purpose of taking practical steps towards social reform among the Vaishyas of Kumaon, and they all told me that while they intermarried with Rajputs, there was not one instance of their having done so with Doms. In order to test the accuracy of this statement, I questioned a number of other intelligent and well-informed independent gentlemen, and they supported the Vaishyas in the above statement. I should therefore think that statements like the above, which give needless offence to a community, should not be made in a public report, or the authority on which they are made should be stated. In this case, I hope the statement, which is due to a misapprehension, will be corrected.

At Almorah they asked me to lecture on social reform, which I did to an audience who, I was glad to find, were ready to meet the reformer more than half-way. They observe the practices of Hinduism more closely than we in the plains. The ceremony of performing the yagyopavita is universal among all the twice-born classes. The practices of the Vaishyas are, the Brahmans themselves told me, as good as those of the Brahmans. The ages at which boys are married are very fair. Only a change is necessary in the marriageable age of girls, and I think if the reformers work on moderate lines they will soon achieve success. I tried to point out to those who honoured me with their presence at the lecture the necessity of observing Hinduism more in the spirit than in the letter, and I believe some of them at least felt convinced of the necessity of doing something in this direction. In Almorah the Christian missionaries are as strong as everywhere else, and it does not speak well of the public spirit of the people of this place that they should allow their daughters to be educated by zenana missions when they know how undermining to their religious beliefs are the teachings of that body. Some time ago there was a strong agitation in Almorah against the missionaries, and the people succeeded in establishing a high school as a rival to a flourishing missionary institution. But they have no girls' school there as in many other places of these provinces, even though they grumble that the effect of zenana mission teaching is not what they would like it to be.

From Almorah to Badrinath is about 130 miles. I left Almorah on the 13th May. The stages are Banskhet 13 miles, Dorahat 13 miles, Choukhutia 10 miles and Mahalchori 8 miles. This is the limit of the Kumaon district. The journey is by a good road leading through pleasant scenery. In places it is very lovely and the sight of the Ramganga running in the valley below, the birds warbling in the trees around, the road winding round the hills, now ascending, now descending, the immense forests on the hills around, the walnuts, the wild rose and other jungle trees spreading their grateful and inviting shade around, elevate one's thoughts to the Author of all whose command they obey and of whose power and glory they remind man at every turn. At Mahalchori the pilgrim enters the Garhwal district. Here the scenery becomes wilder. In the first three stages Lohba, Adi Badri, and Karanprayaga, he meets with much the same kind of trees and flowers as he did in Kumaon. Between Lohba and Adi Badri he walks up to the Devali-khal and then descends for about a distance of six miles. On both sides the hills are covered

with lofty pines ; fountains of water cool his way at every turn. Cascades are falling from the hills and in the mornings birds greet him with their song of glory. The road winds through shaded arbours created without the hand of man, and sweet-scented flowers invite the traveller to rest his weary limbs at every turn. I reached Adi Badri at noon and on inquiry as to why it was called Adi Badri was told that it was the original Badrikashrama of the time of Nara Narayana. There are two hills here, the Nara and Narayana hills, nearly touching each other. The river between is easily fordable. The hills are covered with vegetation and the valley is free from extremes of heat and cold. All that an ascetic requires to keep his body alive can be easily had here, and the delightful scenery around assists his contemplation. There is therefore little doubt that these hills formed the favourite resort of the rishis of old. I found here a number of old temples built in the ancient Hindu style of architecture, and the one said to have been built by Sankara must be at least 1,000 or 1,200 years old. The main temple is surrounded by a number of smaller ones built at various intervals, some of them at the same time as the principal temple and the others at subsequent intervals. The images in the temples are not old, but the reliefs are. After discussing the matter with the best informed local men, I think that the popular saying which divides the Badrikashrama into Sthula (gross), Sukshama (subtle), Ati Sukshama (very subtle) and Suddha (pure), points out to Adi Badri, which is the Sthula, to be the first Badrikashrama of the epic times. As you go on the journey becomes more difficult and the means of subsistence less easily procurable, till in Suddh Badri, which is the present Badrikashrama, you can get nothing from nature except a few roots, the water of the Alakhnanda and snow all round. In Sthula Badri, which extends from Adi Badri-Karanprayaga to Garuda Ganga, nature is more bountiful and the way easier. From Adi Badri to Karanprayaga is 12 miles. Here you are at the confluence of the Alakhnanda and the Pindar rivers, called by some the Karan Ganga. It is a sight to see the crystal blue waters of the Karan Ganga rushing into the crystal white waters of the Alakhnanda. The pilgrim bathes at the confluence. But the force of the stream is too great to admit of his enjoying his bath. From Karanprayaga the pilgrim goes to Nandprayaga, the confluence of the Alakhnanda and the Nandakini. The road has been newly built, and is much wider than those further up. Nandprayaga has some pretensions to trade, for here for the first time after leaving Almorah, I saw shops for the sale of brass and copper vessels, bankers' shops, and one bookseller who dealt in Sanskrit and Hindi books. On the banks of the Nandakini, away from the haunts of men, you can enjoy the sweets of contemplation if you can forget for the nonce the world with its turmoils and cares. The road between Karanprayaga and Nandprayaga having become breached in one place, we had to descend down to the bed of the river for several hundred feet through huge boulders, and could then realise in part the difficulties contended against by those who visited these places in times when there were no roads, no bridges, no villages for sale of provisions or supply of lodgings to the traveller. Truly, as the Hindus say, Badrikashrama is essentially for those who, having played their part in life, go there to die. From Nandprayaga to Chamoli is the next stage of some eight miles. Chamoli or

Lal Sanga is the headquarters of one of the Deputy Collectors of the Garhwal district. Here the road from Kedar meets the Almorah and Garhwal road. The journey was hitherto not very difficult. But from Lal Sanga it becomes more and more difficult at every stage. The ascent and descent are both very rough and steep, and the road in places rather narrow with the hills overhead and the Ganges roaring several hundred feet below. It makes you giddy to look down and you had better not do it, for once your foot slips you are gone for ever. The next stage is Pipalkoti, about nine miles, which you reach in about five hours. Thanks to the care of the British Government, we have now hanging iron bridges for rope bridges of old, and the number of bridges they have built at various places in the pilgrim route between Hardwar, Badrinath, Ranikhet and Kathgodam have earned for them the gratitude of thousands of pilgrims who have thereby been saved from the jaws of death. All these bridges are well and strongly built, and in most of them I could easily go on my *dandi*. Only the one near Nandaprayaga is rather shaky, and the footpath has given way in places, which makes it rather dangerous for the unwary to walk over it, especially when it is dark. A few miles up Chamoli is the Brihi-Ganga, which by the falling of a rock became the Gohana lake. This lake is still several hundred feet deep, and when last it burst, about two or three years ago, about three hundred feet of water rolled down the Alakhnanda, which caused such great havoc all round. As the lake again becomes full another overflow is likely to lead to the same disastrous results. The Brihi-Ganga is not a river worth the name; but it is the rock which has made it into a lake and the rock promises to remain there for some time to come. From Pipal Koti to Kumar Chatti is about twelve miles, and near Gulab Koti, about three miles from Kumar Chatti, you have to climb up one the most dangerous and the roughest ascents in the journey. The coolies said it was the *Mrityu-dwara* or the gate of death. Here you have to climb up several thousand feet between stones roughly placed one over the other. The khud below and the hill above are terrible to look at, and in one place perpendicularly straight is the khud with the river like a white streak of water, with no trees, not even a slope to relieve the eye. The hills are all very bald and bare, and no stream of water nor even a refreshing shade lightens the trouble of the journey, and great is the misfortune of those who have to ascend this peak in the daytime. It was a piteous sight to see women and old and infirm people creeping up and down the hill, crying for water or sorrowfully inquiring as to the nearest halting place: well might one shed tears of joy at the sight of these poor people braving all the extremes of heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and leaving home for a sight of the Badrikashrama of the Rishis. Truly it is in places like these that you see the force of the faith carrying one through all obstacles. The pilgrims are not generally men of position or those who love comfort and luxury. Badrinath is not for the idle or the luxurious or those who have become enervated under the influence of modern civilisation. It is for those who have no care for the body and are prepared for everything—even death at every turn. And yet the journey is now comparatively much easier than even fifty years

ago. What it must have been in the time of Krishna, Vyasa and Sankara, even imagination cannot conceive. The beggar class furnishes the majority of the pilgrims. These beg their way up and down, and private charity is often quite sufficient to relieve much of their want. This year the number of householder-pilgrims was much less than that in other years, and I met only a few men of wealth from Bombay, Bengal, and Panjab. The United Provinces did not furnish any pilgrims to Badrinath. Loud were the appeals for charity at every Chatti lodging place made by these beggars. The Nagas were, however, the best off of the whole lot. Their system of enforcing their demand is unique in the history of Hinduism. At each Chatti they collected all the Banyas, and told them to give them so much *atta*, ghi, sugar, fuel, and cash. They commenced by appealing to their sense of religion. But when they found that sweet words would not carry conviction they enforced their demands by rougher means and beat every one who resisted them. In one place a refractory Banya had to suffer from a broken arm for resisting the demands of the Nagas. In another place a Banya very cleverly escaped their exaction by saying that he was neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan but a Christian. The Nagas are a very rough set of people, stout, well-built, and well-fed and walking publicly in a state of nature. The shopkeepers were loudest in their complaints against their extortions and most of them did not earn for days what was exacted from them in the course of a single raid of these beggars. I think something should be done to put a stop to this. There is no strong police in these places and one or two constables you meet with here and there are scarcely sufficient to control roughs like these. The remedy does not lie in the Banyas' refusing to comply with demands which are enforced by violence, but in checking their advent to Badrinath at the initial passes at Lachmanjhula, on the Hardwar side, and at Kathgodam, on the other. Should such a state of things remain unmodified it might lower the prestige of Government as well as set law and authority at defiance. There is no interference with religion in controlling ruffians like these, and I hope the matter will attract the attention of the authorities. I found the shopkeepers of Garhwal ready to give as much in charity as their means permitted. Prices there are very high. In some places *atta* sells at 4 or 5 annas a seer, *gur* two seers a rupee, *dal* three seers, gram about as much. No vegetables can be had. In some places burning oil was also conspicuous by its absence. There are few fields worth the name in Garhwal, and grain and other things for those who go or live there have to be carried from long distances by small goats. The shopkeeper does not, therefore, make any fabulous profit by selling *atta* at three or four seers a rupee. He has to provide free lodgings for his customers as well as to give away a lot in voluntary gifts. He should, therefore, be protected, and after considering the matter in all its aspects, I think there is no other means but the above of protecting him. The beggar class in Badrinath were very loud in their complaint at the prices charged. But on inquiring into the matter there seemed to be no help for it. All that the Government can do is to see that the provisions supplied are wholesome, and for this purpose periodical examination should be made at every Chatti. It is the bad *atta*, *dal*, and ghi

supplied to the pilgrims which causes so much cholera and other diseases.

We now reached Joshi Matha, really Jotirmatha, one of the four seats of learning founded by Sankaracharya. The village presented the appearance of a deserted place with few people living in it. Cholera had broken out in the neighbourhood and so mortally afraid is the Garhwali of this *bemari* (disease) that he leaves everything and runs into the jungle to save himself. When the epidemic prevails to any extent he deserts his nearest relations to save himself. No Garhwali could be induced for love or money to go near a place where he fancies cholera is prevailing. Joshi Matha has ceased to be the residence of the Sanyasis of the Sankara sect for several hundred years. I tried to find out the reason, but the answer given was not satisfactory. What appeared to be the case was that the head of the institution fell into evil ways, and was removed from office by the ruling chiefs of the place and the institution made over to another sect of Fakirs who called it the Jogi Math. It again changed hands, and the priest of the temple is now a Dakshani Brahman. There is here an ancient temple of Basudeo which is said to have been built by Sankara. The appearance of the temple and its out-houses lends support to the belief that Sankara, or at least his successors, lived here, and that the place was an ashrama of the ascetic and the contemplative. There is here also a temple of Narsingh, not so old as the other temple, and tradition goes that one of the arms of the idol is gradually becoming thinner and that when it falls off the way to Badrinath will be entirely blocked. Whether this is merely a popular belief, or points to some physical changes in the road leading to Badrinath cannot be ascertained. The belief is, however, founded upon a sloka met with in the Sanatkumar Sanhita. Joshi Math is the headquarters of the priest and the other establishment of the temple of Badrinath when it becomes buried in snow in winter. Here we have two beautiful fountains supplied from the hills above, and it was a great pleasure to bathe in them. A few miles up is an old temple of Mahadeo called the Joti Linga, under a tree which must have been at least a thousand or 800 years old. From Joshi Matha to Vishnu Prayaga is only 1½ miles, but the road is very rough and the descent very steep. Vishnu Prayaga is the confluence of the Vishnu Ganga and the Alakhnanda. Here the pilgrim bathes, holding thick chains of iron fastened to the hills, and yet the other day a woman was carried off by the force of the stream. From Vishnu Prayaga we have the Ati Sukshama Badri, the Sukshama extending up to Joshi Matha. The journey is now not only difficult but dangerous, and fortunate is he who does it safely both ways. The road is not in the charge of Government, but is repaired by the managers of the Badrinath temple from the temple funds—so they told me. If it is so, the authorities of the temple ought to be made to keep it in better repair; at present, it is very unsafe and accidents are common. If it is in the charge of Government, they cannot do better than take it up at once instead of waiting for the completion of the rest of the road from Hardwar. I am informed that they are going to spend about 4 lakhs of rupees over the pilgrim route in ten years. The latter has been greatly improved of late. But the road from Vishnu Parayaga to Badrinath, a

distance of about 20 miles, calls for immediate attention, and its repair cannot be undertaken a day too soon. In some places I measured it and found it not more than three or four feet broad, with a very deep khud on one side and a hill rising up to the skies on the other. From Ghat Chatti it becomes worse and you have to climb up between stones roughly placed one over the other for several hundred feet over a narrow footpath of about two feet, with the Ganges below and the hills above. If you look down you may roll down the khud. If you look up you may smash your head against the rock. The pilgrim has therefore to follow the traditional song of the bird *panchipagadhyana mukh Rama Rama*, (wayfarer—attend to your feet—keep it steady and repeat Rama Rama). Accidents to cattle and men are not rare, and the khud of the Ganges bears witness to many an unwary traveller having lost his life by missing his step. Only the other day a woman who was being carried in a khandi (basket chair) met her death in this way. Not only are the steps rough and dangerous and the road very narrow, but the incline in some places is very steep and the risk of your foot slipping very great, and the wonder is that in spite of so many dangers the journey is fearlessly attempted by men, women and children in the belief that Badrinath Vishal will carry them safe through the danger. Between Vishnu Prayaga and Pandukesar is a place called the Lokapala-tirtha, where people perform the sraddha of their ancestors. The tradition of the place is that the pond there is surrounded by a number of birds which would not let straw or any other thing remain in the water but would immediately bring it out. We now come to Pandukesar, really *Pandava kshetra*, the field or the place of the Pandavas. Here we have the unique sight of a slab of stone called the Pandava Sila placed on the top of an apparently inaccessible hill on the other side of the river. It makes one giddy to look at it, and yet tradition says this was the place where the Pandavas were born. That the Pandavas were born in the hills is true, but whether it was here or elsewhere is uncertain. King Pandu, according to the Mahabharata, went to the mountains of Naga-shatta, whence he crossed over to the mountain of Kalakuta, thence to Gandhmadana, thence to the lake of Indradyumna and thence to the mountain of a hundred peaks. But it is doubtful if Lokapala-tirtha is the Indradyumna-tirtha and the Pandukesar the mountain of a hundred peaks of the Mahabharata. At Pandukesar we have again a very old temple of Vishnu called the Yoga Badri. The temple is said to have been built by Sankara. But whether it was built by him or after him, it is a very old temple. Here I saw four very old copper plates bearing inscriptions in the old Devanagari characters. The plates contain probably records of grants from kings of lands or property to the temple. But though I tried much I could not read the inscription: it was illegible in many places. But that the language was Sanskrit, the concluding words, *Sakalam idam purushai parkilayapi*, showed. This is the Ati Sukshama Badri.

We now mount up the Suddh Badri, the goal of the ascetic of Ind. The road, which is now only eleven miles, is not so dangerous as the one from Vishnu Prayaga. In places the valley of the Ganges presents the appearance of an oasis in the desert of barren hills covered with snow all round. The ascent is steep and the way long. But the pilgrim knows that his

trouble will soon be over and onward he goes, staff in hand, shouting Badri Vishala Lal ki jai, not minding the roar of the Ganges below, the hills overhead or the narrow and rough road in front. At Hanuman Chatti he is shown the place where coals of a sacrifice performed by Raja Maruta several thousand years ago are still found. Some traces of coal in the ground were found by digging deep, but whether they were of Raja Maruta's time or due to the nature of the locality itself is not certain. We are now in the snows of the Himalayas, the abode of the snow. Here we have in front the snow-covered peaks, raising their heads aloft to the sky. There the Ganges has been bridged for about a mile by a natural bridge of snow, and it is a sight to see the water forcing its way several thousand feet below this mountain of snow. The Rishi Ganga, a mile below Badri, is crossed by a bridge of snow and we have snow above, snow below, snow right, left, all round. The world is entirely lost from the view amid these snow-covered hills, and if the mind is not elevated here from Nature to Nature's God, it cannot be elevated anywhere else. How majestically silent is Nature here. It tells you not to be too prying into her secrets but bend your head in awe and admiration and learn how insignificant a creature is man compared with the marvels he sees in these hills around him. The rishis looked upon the Himalayas as their heaven and there is no doubt that they are the gates of heaven to those to whom the world has lost its charm. I reached Badrinath in the afternoon of the 24th May and at once went to bathe in the Tapta Kund, a hot spring close to the temple. Here again we see the hand of a benign Providence. Bitterly cold all round, and yet you have a very hot sulphur spring in the middle, a plunge into which at once refreshes you and relieves all the fatigue and trouble of your journey. The pool is supplied with water by a spout in the shape of a dragon's head. As the water comes out of the spout it is unbearably hot, but becomes cool as it falls into the pool. The room through which the spring passes presents the appearance of a nice and warm outer room of a Turkish bath.

The pilgrim has now bathed in the thermal spring and all his fatigue is gone and he is now ready to pay his reverence to Shri Badri Bishal. The door of the shrine opens at about five in the afternoon amidst the din and rush of pilgrims shouting "Badri vishal ki jai." He enters the temple by a flight of steps leading into a quadrangle. The temple has not much pretension to architectural beauty. But it is a very old institution dating from the time of Sankara. Formerly there were no houses here and the temple alone graced the vast tableland. The present Badrinathpuri dates from about 150 years. The tableland extends for about three miles on one side from east to west and about half as much from north to south. The elevation of the place is about 10,400 feet. Higher up, about 23,000 feet above the sea-level, are the glaciers from which the Ganges takes its rise. The cold here is more intense than the coldest December night of the plains, and those who had some experience of the cold in the late Delhi Durbar may perhaps realise the intensity of the cold in Badrinath during the end of May when they are told that it was about half as much more as in Delhi. The temple was built at various intervals of time. The inner sanctuary

dates from Sankara's time, which according to Indian chronologists was 2,373 years ago, and according to European chronologists about 1,200 years ago. It is built of white stone with a deodar roof. Its inside is covered with gilt copper and its cost is estimated to be about 1½ lakhs of rupees. The design is essentially Hindu. The bell-house and the other rooms outside are later additions, and the cost was, they told me, about two lakhs of rupees. The temple carries a large establishment of priests, cooks and other servants and is now under the management of the Raja of Tehri in Garhwal. Under his management it now shows a good surplus, more than Rs. 40,000 being in the bank, and the Maharaja's manager, who is a man of much intelligence and business capacity, is very anxious to secure for it a permanent income capable of meeting all expenses independent of offerings from pilgrims. The total income of the temple is about Rs. 48,000 a year and the expenses about 28,000. There are a number of villages attached to it yielding an income of about Rs. 7,000 a year. The income from offerings of pilgrims amounts to Rs. 20,000 a year, and the number of pilgrims is about 60,000 or 70,000. The chief priest is known as the Rawal, and is a Brahman of the Numburi caste from Kerala in Southern India, the caste from which Sankara came. The office is not hereditary but elective. When a Rawal dies, the manager of the temple communicates with the Raja of Travancore for securing another Rawal, and one who fulfils the necessary conditions as regards birth, clan &c., is selected. Learning is not so much regarded as other qualifications. The pay of the Rawal is now Rs. 100 a month. Formerly he was the sole manager of the temple, and at one time this led to much mismanagement of the temple funds. The temple was formerly managed by the Maharaja of Benares. But on account of distance his management was not successful and it was made over to the Maharaja of Tehri. The Government does not exercise any direct control over its affairs, though it indirectly superintends them. I think the management of the temple should be in the hands of a committee presided over by the Maharaja of Tehri and consisting of men who would take more interest in its affairs than he can do consistently with his state affairs. The manager of the temple gets about Rs. 70 a month and the staff is quite sufficient to control the affairs thoroughly if properly supervised.

It is now the time for Bhog and no one can go inside the temple. The *rasoi* is prepared in a *pakshala* inside the temple enclosure, where Lakshmiji is supposed to cook for Badrinath. The Bhog consists of rice of various sorts and dal; vegetables being scarce are not generally cooked. The Bhog, after the God has been served, is distributed among the temple establishment in fixed proportions, and from them it finds its way through Pandas among the pilgrims. Some of the rice preparations of the Bhog are dishes of a very superior order. There is moreover a system of gifts to the temple called *atka* whereby the giver receives a fixed proportion of food for what he gives and the rest goes to the establishment of the temple. Unfortunately, this *atka* has given rise to some litigation between the temple of Badrinath and that of Lakshmiji which is in the same enclosure, and I hope the Maharaja of Tehri will see that sacred institutions like these are not dragged before courts of law, and will set the matter at rest by compromise.

It is now about 9 o'clock in the morning when the great god is to be bathed. To the privileged few is accorded the Nirvana Darshana, that is a sight of the god as he is in his samadhi posture without any of the jewels or clothes that are subsequently loaded upon his person. There are two rooms in the temple. The inside room where the image is installed has a door covered with sheets of silver. The outside room is covered with gilt copper. It is about 24 by 18 by 12 feet. The inside room is smaller still. The pilgrims stand by a railing at a distance of a few feet from the inner room. But the latter is too dark to admit of a full view of the image unless you go very close, which is not the privilege of every one. The inside room is very insufficiently lighted. No oil, vegetable or mineral, is allowed. Only lamps fed by ghi are lighted and the light even in day-time is very dim. They light camphor for privileged visitors and then you have a full view of the god. I suggested to the authorities of the temple the necessity of lighting the place better and proposed their putting up an electric lamp in the outer room. But it will be very difficult to manage a battery there. At all events the matter is worth serious consideration, both from the fact that it is necessary to prevent accidents, when there is a rush of pilgrims, and to allow those who have made such a long and difficult journey a fuller view of their favourite deity. The question of properly lighting the temple is as important here as in Jaganath, where also the light is very insufficient. I do not think the object of the sastras is to prevent people from having full *darshana* of the object of their worship. There are no texts to that effect in any of the Smritis or Puranas that I know of, and I think in these days of improved lights for all purposes of everyday life, our temples should not employ means of lighting which, however sacred, are insufficient to afford light to those who resort to them. In Badrinath, on account of the temple being under snow for more than six months in the year, greater ventilation than is now available is not possible. But better arrangements for lighting the place ought at once to be made, and I commend the matter to the attention of both the Hindu public and the authorities of the temple. A bright electric lamp, will, I think, meet all requirements and might be put up without much trouble.

The image of Badrinath is a very old and historical Indian relic. It was brought out by Sankara after diving in the Narada-kund about seven times. It is of grey stone in the "padamsana samadhi" posture. Close by are images of Uddhava, Narada and other great Bhaktas. When decked with clothes and jewellery the image of the god presents a magnificent appearance. But it is grander and more elevating to have its view in the "nirvana" posture. The "singhasana" upon which he sits is worth Rs. 4,000 and the jewellery and clothes about Rs. 7,000 or 8,000. In winter, when the temple becomes buried in snow, all this treasure is brought to Joshi Math, and when the temple is closed for the winter a lamp containing about two measures of oil is lighted by a wick as thick as a wax candle.

There is enough ventilation in the temple to let the candle burn, and when after six months the snow is removed and the door opened a green light is seen. If the candle goes out, it is considered a bad sign and a year of sickness and drought is feared. The whole arrangement

of the temple shows that it is simplicity and rigid ascetism itself. At night the god is given a luxurious bed as in other temples ; he is left with only a silk cloth and a girdle. In the winter all furniture and jewellery is removed and he is again left as an ascetic should be.

This is a brief account of one of the greatest institutions of the Hindus. There is not the slightest doubt that the very air of the place is elevating and even the most sceptical man feels himself the better for living in this sacred place. Here from Vishnu Prayaga onwards you see Hinduism in its most primitive condition. No Mahomedan face is seen here, no worker in leather finds his way up to Badrinath. There is not the slightest chance of animal food of any description or any intoxicating liquor finding its way here. All is pure and good, and superstition and dogma have not been able to destroy the sanctity and purity of the place to the extent they have done elsewhere. Every inch here is sacred ground. I walked outside the Puri and how serene and quiet the country was all round ! The snows of the Himalayas extend as far as the eye can reach. Down below, near Brāhmakapal, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his ancestors, is the Narada-kunda in which Sankara dived for the image. The water of the Alakhnanda is so cold that it requires some courage to dip one's hand in it for even a few minutes. There is an inviting cascade rushing down the hill close by, but the water is too cold to drink. We must not, however, linger in these sacred haunts longer than the prescribed period, but must hurry back to the ordinary humdrum life of the plains. Before doing so let us have a glance at the men and women of these places. Primitive simplicity is the great feature of their lives. Thefts, lying and cunning these people know not. You can trust a hill-man with your most precious belongings without being sorry for it. These men have a deeper sense of religion than our people in the plains and some of them rise superior in their simple faith to many of our learned professors of religion. Often I heard them singing their songs in Parhari, and on getting them interpreted found them permeated with a deep religious sense. Their women, though poorly clad, have graceful features and even their rags sit gracefully upon their persons. Some of the Bhot women would beat many of our society ladies in point of grace. What one ought to admire above all is their freedom in meeting strangers. Their character is generally good and their freedom is therefore all the more impressive. And yet how strong and sure-footed they are ! One of these creatures has just placed her little household in a basket and her baby over her pots and pans. She ties the basket to her back and leads a child of about seven by the hand over a steep ascent of some six or seven miles, and reaches her destination before others who had no such load to carry. Another woman comes from Managaon as a coolie. Off she runs with a heavy bundle of about a maund to the next stage, which is fully 11 miles and gets there in about five hours none the worse for her journey. The same is the case with the men. The coolies who are brought to our camp every day carry us and our luggage cheerfully to great heights for the very low rate of 4 annas per man per stage—not because they care for the money but because it is the order of Government. Over the roughest ascents these people carry us along with a boldness which is truly surprising. And yet how timid they are, how mortally afraid of the

bemari (cholera)! There is no trade in these parts. The only things that are sold are hill-produce like musk, salajit, hides, blankets &c., and except a few cereals like wheat, rice, madhwa, nothing is produced here. The people are pastoral and their wealth consists in their cattle. Goats are the chief pack animals. Buffaloes and cows are only reared for milk and ghi. In Badrinath there are only two *annachatras* where food is freely given to the needy. There is no dispensary, though there is a post office there. The climate of the place is not very healthy for dwellers of the plains, who often become sick and carry back incurable diseases as a *prasada* of their journey. I think something should be immediately done to alleviate the suffering one sees here at every turn. The sight of men, women and children appealing for medical relief at every stage is very heart-rending, and I wished my stock of medicines, which I distributed freely, were greater and the means at my disposal ample to afford relief to these suffering people. The pilgrim here is at the mercy of the coolies, and the coolies from the Tehri side are not a good lot and care more for their money than for the comforts of their clients. It is a common practice with them to place their Kandis on the edge of precipices where the loads are in constant danger of tumbling down. One such case occurred in my presence and an old woman I tried to save met her death by the carelessness of her coolie. Cholera, diarrhoea, dysentery, cough, colic are most common among the pilgrims and many of them were found lying on the road-side away from all medical help. The Chattis where people lodge for the night are generally very dirty and there they are huddled together, getting bad food, badly cooked, to eat. The Government is doing something to ensure cleanliness in the Chattis, but I am afraid they are not proceeding in the right way about it. They insist upon the shop-keeper undertaking the responsibility of keeping the Chattis clean or employing a *pasban* (watchman) for the purpose on Rs. 5 or 6 a month. The shop-keepers of course chose the former alternative with the result that the Chattis are not kept clean. I think the Government should themselves employ sweepers for the purpose, and if they cannot afford to do so levy the charge from the shop-keepers. This is one of the most crying evils of the pilgrimage to Badrinath and the cause of much suffering and mortality among the pilgrims.

I should conclude by suggesting (1) that the road from Vishnu Prayaga to Pandukesara at least be immediately repaired either by Government or from temple funds so as to minimise the risk to life which it now presents; (2) that in the pilgrimage season a system of medical relief be organised for the treatment of pilgrims on the road; (3) that ordinary medicines like quinine, peppermint, chlorodyne, camphor be distributed at each Chatti among shopkeepers and Patwaris for free distribution among pilgrims; (4) that instead of one, two or more hospital assistants be employed at places where there are dispensaries, one remaining in the station and the other touring among the pilgrims; (5) that in large Chattis two and in small Chattis one sweeper be employed by Government either from public funds or from rates levied from shopkeepers; (6) that suitable arrangements be made for lighting the temple of Badrinath and that the influx of beggars, like the Nagas who commit robbery and extortion in the name of religion, be stopped. I

hope these suggestions will commend themselves to Government and the public, and that something will soon be done to make the journey to Badrinath more comfortable and less trying. I look upon my visit to that sacred place as one of the most interesting incidents of my life and shall always remember it with feelings of pleasure and reverence.

BAIJ NATH.

A SONNET.

Alas! 'tis true I have gone here and there
 And made myself a motley to the view;
 Gored my own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear.

SHAKESPEARE.

Did Shakespeare's self act false to his own soul
 And pose for other parts weak and unfit?
 O heart of mine, how hast *thou* played thy rôle?
 This sin of Shakespeare's, hast thou dealt in it?
 Bethink thee what still courage mann'd thy heart
 When the one dream hung splendid o'er thy way;
 Has it now perished? Dost thou play thy part
 Trustful and true as in an earlier day?
 Oh, rise and vanquish yet again, with strength
 Caught from an earlier inspiration, foes
 That half have vanquished thee, but whom, at length,
 Thou still mayst nobly fight and conquer; those
 Loved by the world; false love, false hate, false ruth,
 False vows and feigning; all the foes of truth.

DOROTHY CORNISH.

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THE POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN ENGLAND.

THE most remarkable feature of Mr. Balfour's new Ministry is that it contains so large a proportion of young and untried men. With the exception only of the lawyers, the Prime Minister has shed all the colleagues who belong to the older generation. The lawyers, of course, go on for ever. It is said that Mr. Balfour lately was wandering moodily along Pall Mall, wondering what excuse he could make for shelving a certain man of eminence in the law, who has drawn his comfortable £5,000 a year or so for twenty years and never done a stroke of good work, when the very man in question suddenly accosted him, and shaking him warmly by the hand, cheered him with the words, "Ah! Arthur, my boy, you have had your troubles. But never mind. I will stick by you till the last." For my part, I admire the Prime Minister's courage in determining, now he has the chance, to break with the past. The old men were too much with us, and never seemed to understand that it was time for them to say farewell. It would be a very good thing for the Liberal party if they too were to make a change in the *personnel* of their Front Bench. The party would stand much higher in public estimation if they could only put a new cast in the playbill.

The political revolution which has just been effected has astonished the world. A few months ago the Unionist Government seemed to be so strong that nothing could shake it. Then, suddenly, and without any apparent reason, Mr. Chamberlain sprang his fiscal surprise upon his colleagues and the country, and now we are face to face with a complete *débâcle*. The changes made in the Cabinet have benefited nobody except Mr. Balfour himself. I have always considered that the popular impression regarding the Prime

Minister, which accepts him as a lounging, careless statesman with no fixed ambition or definite purpose, is entirely wrong. Mr. Balfour is one of the most artful of politicians, with a very large share of that special quality of statecraft which distinguishes the Scottish race to which he belongs. I well remember, for I was closely mixed up at the time with the leaders on both sides, and knew all that went on behind the scenes, the clever way in which Mr. Balfour played with and jockeyed Lord Randolph Churchill, whom he ultimately supplanted in the position of Leader in the House of Commons. I do not know what his exact relations have been with Mr. Chamberlain. The two men always praise one another so warmly in public that cynical observers say the thing is overdone. One of their colleagues said to me a few years ago, "The truth is, Balfour, Chamberlain, and Hicks-Beach, all hate one another like poison." This may have been an exaggerated view of the situation, but Mr. Balfour, with all his sweetness of disposition, cannot have enjoyed being perpetually set on one side by the masterful Colonial Secretary.

Anyhow, he has now definitely taken the lead, and become the master in his own house. A good deal of nonsense is talked about the immense popularity of Mr. Chamberlain and the probability that he will sweep the country. Such criticisms betray forgetfulness of the fact that the late Colonial Secretary has now become a mere unofficial person, with no party at his back. While he was in office, he spoke in the name of a powerful Government, with all the Colonies ready to back him up. Who are his friends now? Mr. Balfour has captured the whole Conservative party, as was made quite evident at Sheffield. Moreover, he has put forward a clear and distinct policy. We are told that his views are identical with Mr. Chamberlain's, but he has deliberately thrown over the scheme of preferential trade with the Colonies, and refused to tax food in order to propitiate the Colonies. He still advocates retaliation, and airs sentiments which are purely Protectionist. He has in this way succeeded in quarrelling with the Duke of Devonshire, whom he hoped to be able to keep by his side, and whose defection, as his angry letter shows, has marred all his plans. But a policy of this kind does not alarm the country like a proposal to tax food, and many people think that it can easily be defeated

when once Mr. Balfour shows his hand, and reveals upon which nation and what classes of goods he intends to retaliate.

My own conviction, then, is that the Ministry will not be overthrown so speedily as is generally imagined. Mr. Balfour has shown a good deal of skill in the selection of colleagues whose names, if comparatively unknown, are not unpopular. If Lord Curzon had been at home, he would undoubtedly have played a principal part in recent changes. But it is singular how quickly the most brilliant men are forgotten when they forsake the hurly-burly of public affairs at Westminster for a splendid and secure position elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain is a man who has done good work, and, if he owes his appointment to the great office of Chancellor of the Exchequer mainly to the circumstance that he is the son of the man who must be propitiated, he has still a fair claim to promotion on the ground of his own merits. Mr. Arnold Forster is a very capable critic, whose ideas regarding the administration of both Army and Navy have been the backbone of the Service Committee in the House of Commons. He is not much liked, but he should be able greatly to strengthen Mr. Balfour's hands in warding off hostile criticism. Mr. Brodrick's translation to the India Office is not regretted, but I have always thought that Mr. Brodrick was made the scapegoat of other people's sins. The whole Press held him liable for the blunders exposed in the Report of the War Commission, but with these he had nothing to do. Our disasters, which were the fruit of a scandalous maladministration, occurred at the beginning of the war, when Lord Lansdowne was at the War Office, but he escapes scot-free. Mr. Brodrick personally is a most hard-working, conscientious minister; and, though he cannot know much about India, it must not be forgotten that he and Lord Curzon were close comrades and intimate personal friends in the House of Commons, and it is not at all likely, therefore, that he will ever come into collision with the Viceroy. There remains Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, whose nomination to the post of Colonial Secretary is a complete surprise. But Mr. Lyttleton has given much study to Colonial affairs, is personally popular, and impresses people by his good sense and soundness of judgment. The Colonies want rest, and will be glad to escape

from the stormy waters which delighted the late Colonial Secretary, of whom it may be truly said that,

Pleased with the danger, when the waves ran high,

He sought the storms, but for a calm unfit,

Would steer too nigh the sands, to show his wit.

Now, what shall I say of Mr. Chamberlain's tearing, raging propaganda? I do not pretend to speak without prejudice, for I have always disliked Mr. Chamberlain personally, and thought his policy and his style alike detestable. Any Government seems to me preferable to that which he inspired and bullied. But I am only expressing what is a very general opinion when I say that his speeches at Glasgow and Greenock have failed to hit the mark, and that the Tariff Reform he advocates is already as dead as his friend Mr. Seddon's New Zealand mutton. There is not the slightest chance that it will ever gain the ear of the country. This is not merely because all the political parties and all the representatives of the leading industrial and commercial organisations in the United Kingdom have formally declared in favour of Free Trade. Let us see how things stand. The Government has refused to accept Mr. Chamberlain's policy. The chief of the Liberal Unionists, the Duke of Devonshire, has repudiated his old ally, and broken up the compact which has kept the Conservatives in power for the last seventeen years. A powerful section of the Conservatives themselves has vowed war to the knife against any revival of Protection. The whole Liberal party is united to a man in favour of Free Trade. To the Irish party Mr. Chamberlain is specially odious, and they never will forgive him for his betrayal of Mr. Gladstone. Where, then, in the House of Commons will Mr. Chamberlain find any supporters except among the shipping, sugar, and steel rings whose members go into Parliament simply to advance their own interests? What, again, is his position in the country? All the Trade Unionists, all the co-operators, all the labour members, all the principal industries, such, for example, as the cotton industry, have held meetings, and protested against any interference with the settled commercial policy of the country.

But Mr. Chamberlain's chief enemy is himself. Out of his own mouth he is condemned. His inaccurate statements, his astonish-

ing ignorance of elementary facts proclaimed in the Blue-Books which he himself asked for, but which he has evidently never taken the trouble to read, have simply astounded a nation which, accepting him at his own valuation, has always hitherto regarded him as a capable man of business. What is one to think of a man who bases his scheme of Tariff Reform on the argument that our export trade is steadily decreasing, when the published statistics show that the export trade, which was valued at less than 200 millions in 1870, rose to 282 millions in 1900, and when all the collateral evidence proves that England was never more prosperous and wealthy than she is at the present moment? Then, his calculations as to the revenue he is to draw from foreign manufactures are ridiculous. His estimate of the harm done by foreign imports is simply laughed at by people engaged in trade. He says our silk, woollen, and iron trades are all ruined. But such a statement is the direct opposite of the truth. All these trades are flourishing exceedingly. But, supposing he has his way, and prohibits foreign imports by levying high duties, where will he get his revenue from to pay for his promised reduction in taxation on tea, sugar, cocoa, and so forth? On the other hand, the duty he would put on corn will be a far heavier burden than he imagines, possibly ten millions instead of two. It seems incredible, but Mr. Chamberlain actually thinks that the duty would only fall on foreign corn. He forgets that British farmers could at once raise the price of the corn produced in this country by the whole amount of the duty.

But there is really no end to Mr. Chamberlain's extravagances and inconsistencies. A friend of mine declared, when the late Colonial Secretary returned from South Africa, that he was suffering from the fantastic dreams with which the air of the "illimitable veldt" fills the minds of unwary travellers, and which accounts for many of the strange vagaries noticeable in the character of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Certainly, Mr. Chamberlain talks about the Colonies in a way which seems to show that he has lost the sense of proportion. These handfuls of men whom we have created, maintained, and endowed with the free institutions which they are now so eager to abuse, he parades as the real strength of the Empire, and insults the 40 millions of people in this country by

deriding them as a poor, parochial-minded nation, and a set of Little Englanders. One loses patience with such folly. The Colonies are all very well in their way, but they are growing rich on lands which were the heritage of the English people till the Imperial Parliament recklessly gave them away. The cheap produce with which they flood the English market is supported with bonuses and subsidies derived from these lands. The Colonies have been defended for hundreds of years by the English army and navy, which we pay for. We gave them Free Trade, but they had no sooner got self-government than they set up Protection to shut out English manufactures. And now Sir Wilfrid Laurier coolly tells us that Canada means to go on building up her own industries, and that "not even to save the British Empire," will she abandon her fiscal independence. Even the boasted trade of the Colonies with the Mother Country is artificial and unreal. India buys our goods in immense quantities, and pays for them with her own money. India, therefore, is a real bulwark of the Empire. But the imports of Australia and the Cape from the Mother Country are chiefly paid for with the hundreds of millions of capital which these enterprising Colonies borrow from us on the London Stock Exchange. Truly, except for the name of the thing, our Colonial Empire is hardly worth having.

J. M. MACLEAN.

RANADE AND HIS TIMES.

MY acquaintance with M. G. Ranade dates back to the seventies. Shortly after Sir Richard Temple's appointment as Governor of Bombay, the Maharani Shurnomoye and other grateful zemindars of Bengal sent over a deputation to him with an address of congratulation. The mission was entrusted to Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose, founder of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the cleverest politician of his time, who has now become a recluse, yearning despondently for a religion of mental exaltation leading up to the brotherhood of the race. He was accompanied by a wealthy landlord, somewhere from Dacca side, the Rev. Kalicharan Bannerji, and another Bengali gentleman whose name I forget—was it Ganguli ? I did not know S. K. Ghose at the time, but got to know and understand him thoroughly on receipt of a telegram from him, intimating his intention of making himself and friends my guests at Bombay. An utter stranger inviting himself to your house ! Yes, it is a fine old ideal, hiding the inner meaning and true value of friendship. Mine was a small house and a poor one ; but, such as it was, it was placed at the disposal of the self-invited deputation. On arrival, however, old Shishir, whom I could make out from a thousand, explained that he wanted my company, not hospitality, the latter having been provided by Sir Mangaldas Nathoobhoy. As a matter of fact, he made me his guest, instead of host, at his Girgaum quarters, plying me with savoury Bengali dishes and still more savoury Bengali wit, the like of which you seldom encounter outside his favoured province. Thus sprang up a friendship which has survived the lapse of a quarter of a century and the shock of many a difference of doctrine and ideal. We now correspond at long intervals, and meet still more rarely. Shishir was then considered disloyal, and several Parsi friends warned me of the danger of being associated with him. But I liked his plain home talks in the *Patrika*. He was trying strenuously to create a political India, and for a while I had my own dreams running hap-

hazard in that direction. I saw the folly, earlier than he, of an exclusive political programme for a country like ours. He, too, seems to have realised the unwisdom now. Is he the better for this disillusion? I hope I am no worse, *pace tua*, my eager Indian friends, pointing to false analogy and fictitious history. Dr. Bannerji and I have hardly ever exchanged visits or even letters since we met in Bombay. But we have been friends all the same.

From Bombay my hosts-guests went to Poona for a few days, carrying me off by main force. We stayed there at Hirabag, and made the best of our stay in the city of the Peshwas with its political traditions ready to leap back into life at the touch of the first revivalist. Of an evening, after a ramble over Parbati Hill, we attended a meeting presided over by the Rev. Mr. Small. One of the speakers was a tall, uncouth-looking Hindu, with a combative little nose stuck up accidentally under a spacious forehead. He started in a slow, slovenly fashion, with very awkward gestures, appearing to quarrel with himself. I asked a neighbour who the speaker was, and being told it was Mr. Ranade, I looked at him more closely from my corner. He kept fumbling and mumbling yet a while; but before the audience became quite aware of it, he warmed up to his theme in such a way as to lift us all off our legs. The unwieldy figure, the immobile face became transformed as if by magic, and for about half an hour he addressed us more like an earnest Christian saint than a philosophical Brahman. The subject seemed to have lent itself peculiarly well to his comprehensive and luminous treatment, and he held the audience, heart and head, in thrall, as he went through the calm, cogent, crystallised peroration. By this time he had won over dissenters and doubters alike. I was one of these, the least among the doubters; and to make up for my want of faith I went to Mr. Ranade first thing in the morning, and found in him the Socrates I had been in search of. I saw him off and on at his antiquated little house in Budhwar Peith (?)—surroundings, habits, methods of work, all equally antiquated. Yet, what liberality of thought, what loftiness of purpose he showed, squatting on the floor beside the low little desk at which he wrote, straining the eyes already suffering from myopia, blowing his nose at short intervals, and running his *dhotar* over his face to wipe off its effects as well as the sweat arising from strenuous application. Whilst busy scanning some important document or writing an equally important judgment, he would keep humming one of Tukaram's *abhangs* or joking

with some small urchin in the room knocking about in a state of nature. As he saw me sometimes emerging from his narrow little staircase, his face lit up with the unspoken welcome. Ranade was very quick in seizing upon a comic situation. There was a gleam of genuine humour in his eyes as he quietly floored an opponent. He indulged in a hearty laugh at such times, striking his leg as he enjoyed a joke or derived satisfaction from his own or his opponent's discomfiture. One night I found him and Shankar Pandit fairly rolling with laughter on the carpet at the memory of some prank of their school or college days. Call these men malcontents, ye gods!

Ranade was in close sympathy with many of my pursuits, proving a tower of strength during our campaign against infant marriage and enforced widowhood. On other questions also, moral, social and political, we had a good deal in common, and carried on a brisk correspondence for years. We sometimes shared the expenses of a common cause. Once I sent him some money entrusted to me by friends in England, which he spent upon public objects with wonderful tact and impartiality. He was as strongly opposed as myself to the legalised infliction of cruelty on animals in the name of science, and was equally strong in support of rural sanitation. In Bombay we met at least once a week, either at his house or at my office, where he came up on his way home from Court. But at no period of our intercourse could I claim the privilege of intimate personal relations with Ranade. From what I knew of him, however, I am inclined to think that morally he was as perfect a gentleman as it is possible for one to be. At times one felt as if the soul of Socrates himself had migrated a while into this many-sided Maratha Brahman. Ranade seemed incapable of doing wrong even to his enemies; indeed, it is difficult to think of him as cherishing ill-will towards the worst of enemies. He was always guileless, though too cautious and self-absorbed as a rule to be transparent. Taken as a whole, M. G. Ranade was, in many ways, the embodiment of all the virtues of his great race, not without some of its weaknesses. And what were these? His greatest weakness arose from perhaps his greatest strength of character—the desire to avoid giving pain or offence, to live at peace with all men, with all phases of thought and action, not overtly immoral. Philosophically, this weakness might be called a virtue; and so it undoubtedly was in his case. But in the concerns of everyday life it landed him more than once into serious difficulties, and detracted not a little from his moral grandeur. The miserable *pradvaschitta* ceremony at

Poona, after taking a cup of tea at the Panch Howd Mission, was one of these heart-rending episodes. To the older one, his second marriage to please an orthodox mother, a bare reference is all one must permit himself to make. Nothing that he or his friends, Kashinath Telang especially, could plead in justification, was enough to satisfy a non-Hindu observer. For myself, I never sat in judgment, never used one unkind word. But it was an immense misery to one who admired Ranade so much to find such a giant in intellect act like a child. Of him to whom much is given much shall be required. The word of a public man, of a leader of public movements, is a hostage given in good faith, more than law unto him, more than his own life. Mother, father, wife—what are these compared with the eternal principle to which he has pledged his honour? A lapse like this, on the part of a leader, cannot but prove disastrous to his party, try how you may to exaggerate its cause or explain away its effects. Telang agreed with me so far, but thought I was unjust in assuming that Ranade had viewed the matter in the light of a principle; it was to him a matter of expediency in order to heal a breach of social etiquette. Poor Telang looked at it perhaps with a prophetic vision. For he too had his lapse. "Would to God he had gone before *that*!" sobbed N. M. Parmanand on his own deathbed, as we received word of that great soul passing away much before his time. The cause of social reform received a shock at the time from this defection of its two redoubtable champions; and it is doubtful if the effects of the momentary weakness have yet passed away. Their associates, Messrs. Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar, have shewn a keener sense of public duty, whilst Karsandas Mulji and Madhavdas Ragnathdas, "mild Banias" as they were, and persecuted almost all their lives, lived to reveal and died revealing the true heroic grain in their natures. This becomes the more noteworthy when we remember that the Gujarati reformers had neither the intellect nor the social and political influence of the great Maratha citizens. For all that, however, Telang and Ranade were mighty men in their generation, endowed with some of the best gifts of humanity. And as near as could be, they were perfect in character. Who knows, the little flaws we have glanced at but enhanced the attractiveness of their character? But for these flaws they might have lost not a little of their human magnetism. In public they were meant to be guides rather than leaders; in private it would be impossible to find more modest, self-effacing householders. They were sensitive plants, both of them; and if you chide them for want of consistency in one case, you will be charmed with their inconsis-

tency in another case. Ranade and Telang both approved of meat diet, I believe, for the proper development of the national physique, but both refrained scrupulously from the use of meat in any form.

Latterly I observed a certain coldness creeping up between Mr. Ranade and myself—*creeping* is the right word, because the estrangement came on almost imperceptibly and in an undefinable manner ; our visits became less frequent, and I felt a sense of constraint in his letters. At first I thought this was mere fancy, that he was more busy than before. But somehow, without any clearly assignable cause, we certainly seemed drifting apart. One day, however, I was agreeably surprised to have a warmly worded letter from my friend, thanking me for the support I had given to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir W. Wedderburn in regard to the question of Indian famines, during an interview with the *Bombay Gazette* at the end of my tour in the N.-W. P. *Thanks* for standing by two of one's trustiest friends in such a case ? What *else* was I to do if not to support them ? In these words, more or less, I replied to Ranade's letter. Next evening he came over to office with a Bengali gentleman. The introduction over, we reverted briefly to the subject of our recent correspondence. He spoke in an undertone and with a far-off look. As we parted, the only words I caught were—" *Peg away !*" We did not meet again for months.

Our next meeting was destined to be rather eventful. One forenoon, coming out of the lower end of the Blue Valley at Mahabaleshwar, I saw Mr. Ranade walking gingerly towards the bazar. I overtook him in a minute, when he accosted me with—"This is just what I expected." "Expected what," I asked, pretending not to understand. "I mean, this is what I *wanted*," he replied by way of explanation. We now walked on, each more morose and taciturn than the other. In half an hour, we neared his house, and before entering he asked rather nervously, "Have you time?" I answered by following him indoors. Here, while opening his letters absent-mindedly, he asked, "By the way (as if he had talked to me for an age!) has anything happened between yourself and Mr. —?" "A good deal, I am afraid," was my answer. "And between you and Mr. —?" he asked again. "Nothing that I know of," I answered. So ho ! this is how the land lies ! And you, poor mariner, have given yourself away or rather the dear old whisperer who delights in whispering away people's reputation or peace of mind ! Our whispering bird has been abroad, evidently. God help those who lend ear unto his song ! But let us discuss things, not men. "Have *you* anything to say against

my attitude with regard to public questions?" I asked Mr. Ranade. He said he had heard about a certain change in my views on the Congress movement, that I criticised its work in a hostile spirit. This gave me an opening for explanation, at the end of which he remarked that it was a pity there had been so much misunderstanding; that this was due partly to my aloofness, and that I ought to meet friends privately and thus let them see what I was doing in my own way to co-operate with them. I told him of my lack of opportunity and of a systematic attempt to prejudice me, the said attempt arising from personal differences. He pricked up his ears at this. And though too loyal to do more, he admitted that difference of opinion should be tolerated and friendly criticism welcomed.

My last meeting with Ranade took place at his house in Bombay, about a week before his sudden death which so overwhelmed the community. He appeared that day to be in much better health than I had seen him in for years. I really thought Dr. Bhalchandra had set him up for good. One of the subjects we talked about was the wretched *Sansarika* squabble. As I explained to him the drift of certain Gujarati words and phrases, he winked knowingly, exclaiming, "Dangerous, dangerous, very objectionable!" and then he laughed his short dry horse-laugh, winding up with the shrewd remark that there was something *behind*.

And now, though very late in the day, I should like to carry out my friend's last wishes as regards my attitude towards the Congress. This is not too late for him, I feel certain: even if it were, it would not be too late for survivors. Am I an "enemy" of the Congress because I differ occasionally from the views or ways of some worthy congress-workers? Let us have it out, like men. For my part, at any rate, I speak to you frankly and with a full knowledge of the difficulties in the way of progress and of the disappointments that await the public worker at every turn. If I seem to speak from the fulness of a bitter heart, be assured it is not for want of sympathy. It is the bitterness of my own experience that emboldens me to criticise. I criticise only to improve the quality of your work, to give you a chance of doing the maximum of good to the country with the minimum of effort. My main object, in giving you the benefit of prolonged and painful experience of public life in India, is to save disappointment to future workers.

And what has been my experience? Let us take the latest, in connection with the floating of *East & West*. I had no idea, while starting the magazine, that it would be able to secure such a fine literary

output. In its list of contributors and the character of its contents, the magazine has exceeded all sanguine expectations. It has been offered cheap, many of the numbers being issued at cost price and under. How has *East & West* been received by the public? They hailed its appearance with enthusiasm, but, when it came to paying the bills, the enthusiasm cooled down gradually. In one province the patriotic ardour at first ran up to white-heat, and, infected by the prevailing spirit, a friend asked for 5,000 copies of the prospectus, with printed reply-cards, to be scattered among the national assembly sitting there for the week. The friend meant execution—from an English-educated representative gathering hailing from all parts of the country he naturally expected a very large order. I warned him not to court disappointment, but he would not listen—no, no, not less than 4,000 copies anyhow, he insisted. Well, his wish was gratified. And with what result? Out of the 4,000 copies distributed during the week, my friend and his agents succeeded in securing *three* (not three hundred, please) subscribers, two of whom deserted when in sight of bills a few months later. I am not particularly well-up in arithmetic, but even to my obtuse intelligence the result comes to an infinitesimally small fraction, hardly distinguishable from zero. Another friend in the same province undertook to secure at least 100 subscribers for special concessions made to him. Shall I say what came of that friendly bargain? No: it would create too big a scandal. Again, a number of subscriptions came in direct from the province, some of the subscribers eager to be enrolled from the start. They went on accepting copies for months, but no sooner were their bills sent in than they began to complain that copies had not reached them regularly, that certain numbers were missing, and so on. They then disappeared from the scene, and their copies came back marked, "Returned," "Refused," "Not found," "Gone away," "No such name at this address," &c., &c. Such is my present experience of public spirit; it is quite in keeping with past experience. The *Indian Spectator* and the *Voice of India* have the same tale to tell—one copy read by ten readers, and the one subscriber sometimes in arrears—running up his bill for five, seven and ten years, and then asking for his original order, threatening to pay at leisure, but forgetting to carry out the threat. These details are too paltry to mention, but the straw shows which way the wind blows. No wonder the press in India draws but few men of character and talent; that there are journals without editors and editorial staffs, without a library or even a few reference-books; that those who run the papers have no means of studying the questions they are

supposed to discuss, no collateral reading to enlighten their criticism; that the writings lack variety and speciality. The struggles of these pressmen, in the absence of literary or financial co-operation, are really heart-breaking. It is no fault of theirs that they fail : the fault lies with the public. This is our daily experience : we all feel the cruelty of the fate. And yet, if some one ventures to say that the country is wanting in public spirit or political appreciation, he is set down as an enemy.

Turn a glance now in another direction. How do we appreciate the services of our public workers? I have had to do with perhaps fifty movements, large and small, since the fiasco of the Fawcett Memorial at Bombay in the late eighties. And I have had the same dismal experience time after time—extreme unwillingness to part with money for the best of public objects. But for Mr. Dadabhai and others begging from door to door we would not have got a Ripon Memorial here any more than elsewhere in the country. What have we done for Charles Bradlaugh, and a number of other English friends, who worked hard for us without the smallest interest of their own to serve? What have we done for Max Müller, the staunch life-long friend of India? But for a few large-hearted Hindu citizens of Bombay, Max Müller might as well have lived in some Pacific Island and worked for the savages there. India, civilised and grateful, can do very little to commemorate his splendid services in the field of politics as well as science. Take Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, our patriarchal politician. What have we done for him by way of *practical appreciation*? I do not remember a single forward politician having contributed towards his parliamentary expenses when I tried to collect a fund, one year after another, from among his friends and admirers. Why, I have an idea that some of these gentlemen laughed at Mr. Dadabhai for his whimsical attempt to enter the House of Commons. And, curious as it may seem, when Mr. Dadabhai came triumphant out of his unequal struggle, and visited India for a season, some of these very sceptics became fired with enthusiasm uncontrollable. Finally, what support has the country given to Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, Mr. V. N. Gokhale, Mr. S. N. Bannerji, Dr. K. C. Bonnerji, Mr. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Madanmohan Malavya, probably the most effective Indian representatives we could have in or out of Parliament? Such is our sense of appreciation; it is a matter of common experience. One feels doubtful at times whether as a nation we have the real political instinct : whether we realise the significance of what is called political life. But there are politicians in India, who resent the very expression of such a doubt. Perhaps they are right.

From journalists and public men come we now to public movements. Where is the sustained interest of fifteen years ago? What has come over our local Associations? From every province comes the cry—no attendance, no funds, no regular work—in short, no corporate activity to speak of. A few men work here and there by fits and starts at their leisure. The Associations thus lose their representative character—which is exactly what official monopolists want. Am I misrepresenting the position of our public bodies? They seem to have suffered almost concurrently with the rise of the Congress movement.

Let us, then, glance at the history of this great public movement. It suits one of my critics to insinuate that I am an enemy of the Congress. As a matter of fact, the Congress started from *my house* at Bombay, where its prospectus and its first batch of Resolutions were drawn up by the chivalrous Englishman whose only fault was that he mistook poor old-world India for a modern British or American constituency on a huge scale. Whatever our differences in other respects, the principles of the Congress, so far as they refer to watching, guiding and correcting the Administration, have been the guiding principles of my life—they constitute the bones and fibres of my being. How could I oppose what is the essence and inspiration of my own existence? The Congress so far has been like a mother to me. It is, indeed, the mother of our modern movements. I am not one of those who keep asking "What has the Congress done?" Why, had she done no more than ushering in so many of our present day movements—our social, religious, industrial and other Conferences—she would have amply vindicated her claim as the prime mover. This vast output of national energy, even as an indirect result—the Conferences as so many step-daughters of the Congress—is something to be proud of. But if the Congress has proved so far to be the mother of our public movements, has she, like the mad mother dog, devoured or starved to death her own offspring? What has become of our local Political Associations which the Congress was expected to feed, and which, in their turn, were to feed the parent movement? We seem to have learnt to neglect our large local interests in trying to conserve our energy for national purposes during the Congress week. And equally true it appears that the Congress week takes us unawares—we are hardly prepared just when it comes at the end of a twelve-month. Where is the Constitution of the Congress, which we undertook to provide years ago? We attack the methods of the official bureaucrat, but ourselves follow the worst of these methods. We have undertaken to represent

the nation. Who are our representatives at the Congress board? Who made them our representatives? Whom do the representatives represent, and how? On what questions do they represent the nation? Do we really consult the wants and wishes of our constituents, or deliberate upon the questions that affect them? Is it not true that we rush the Congress work helter-skelter in three days, which ought to take us weeks of careful consideration? This is not my own opinion—it is urged by Congressmen themselves. How often have they complained, privately, and publicly of the high-handedness of this or that leader? If the dissentients or protestants are over-ruled by a majority, I have nothing to say. I am far from making light of the difficulties of the leaders, who are often less to blame than the followers. Where are the lieutenants to keep this great volunteer corps going? Such a movement must work in a business-like manner, doing every day's work during the day. Not even a national movement can defy the ordinary rules of business, condensing 350 days' work into three days' talk. The thing is impossible even for giants and miracle-workers. If what is said about our methods of work be true, what does it show? "But where are the sinews of war for a regular organisation?"—you ask. Well, I am familiar with the spectacle of the hat going round for subscriptions flung into it with indignant protests. Every rent thus made in the poor old hat means a fresh nail driven into the coffin of the Congress—in other words, the grave of our political reputation. Can a grand movement like the Congress flourish on eleemosynary aid, on chance subscriptions grudgingly given by half-hearted sympathisers? Where is our commonsense that we go on crying "Give, give, give," without showing proper work for what we have already received in trust for the country's good? What national questions have we finally decided during these seventeen years? On how many important subjects have we effectively convinced the Government and compelled it to acquiesce, or enlightened the public as to the need of co-operation? Would it not be better once for all clearly to define the position of the Congress? For instance, is it working for the people? If so, we must take up the poor man's questions—salt, forest, abkari, irrigation, land assessment, police, court-fees, village conservancy, &c., not merely the abstract principles (as presented in 'omnibus' Resolutions) underlying the enactments, but also the effects of their operation on the daily life of the people. We must employ qualified agents to go about collecting materials, and to submit them to a properly constituted Committee of experts, with a paid Secretary to

carry out their instructions. These must thresh out the questions in the light of the information supplied, and take the necessary action. If once the Committee make an impression on the authorities and dislodge them from their *non-possumus*, the poor man's pice will pour in like the water of the ocean, making a grand total large enough to pay the whole-time Secretary and staff of assistants and agents at every centre of the Empire. A two-anna subscription per annum will yield lakhs of rupees.

But if the Congress does not undertake to represent the masses directly—I should prefer to keep the Rajas as well as the ryots out of its whirl—let the leaders say plainly that it is a movement intended chiefly and primarily for the English-educated classes. There is no shame and no harm in avowing this object. In that case, the educated classes must maintain the Congress. If only 300 of them, all over the country, give Rs. 300 a year each, it would be enough for present purposes. Surely, there must be 300 educated men in the country, that is one in a population of 100,000, able to pay for their own and their country's good? Or, if you prefer it, let 3,000 persons, that is one out of nearly 10,000, give 30 rupees each; or 30,000, one out of 1,000, give 3 rupees each. Take up the Income Tax returns for the country, and call upon the payers, in the country's name, and in their own interest, to pay just 3 rupees more at the end of the year. They pay much more for caste or social purposes, even for clubs, libraries, for smoke or drink. Will this intelligent and fairly prosperous class grudge a paltry three-rupee subscription if they find it to their advantage to give it? They will pay, and I believe the majority of them will also work. The great thing is to convince them by earnest continuous work. Let us give up show—large miscellaneous crowds, pompous resolutions, schoolboys brandishing bamboo-swords and schoolmasters jabbering in unknown dialects. Theatrical displays accord very ill with the sacred character of such a movement. If we work in a business-like spirit, we are sure to win all along the line, on the public and on the Government. To show that I am no enemy, I am ready with my three rupees, or thirty, or three hundred, just as you settle it; I may also bring many more subscriptions, if wanted. And if our methods are open, above-board, and for the public weal, Government will find it in their own interest to seek our co-operation. Is it too late to recast the Congress programme? We ought to be able to do this without a single wrench or one serious departure. The Congress being our mother, we must not let her starve, nor must we trade upon

her resources or reputation. On the contrary, every educated Indian ought to be ready to give his share towards her honourable maintenance. The poverty of India is an undeniable fact, but it has nothing to do with us, the educated class, in this connection—the landlords, merchants, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and pensioners, all living pretty comfortably on the poverty of the masses. Take a census of this well-to-do class, and you will find at least 3,000 of them able to give Rs. 300 each annually without feeling the poorer for this gift to the nation. It sickens one to hear this perpetual plea of poverty whilst witnessing at the same time an equally perpetual saturnalia of selfishness—riotous squandering of resources on domestic and personal objects, that can in no way benefit the country.

And now, my Hindu friends, don't you run away with the idea that a Parsi here or a European there will bring you your political salvation, unaided by yourselves. Every man and every community must work out their own salvation. And as for Hindus and Mahomedans, history tells us of statesmen and politicians among them, whose height it would be difficult even for first-class European administrators to scale. I grant that a sprinkling of Parsis—the salt of the earth in India—is desirable. But if so, why not many more Parsis, many more Mahomedans, many more Hindus of position, many more Eurasians and Europeans, if we can have these by a slight modification or expansion of our programme? Cast your net wide, my friends, if you mean business. Above all, I think it absolutely necessary for the Congress to obtain the co-operation of a large number of retired officials, native and European. They would serve as ballast, and their experience would be of the utmost value in preparing representations and forcing them on the notice of the Government. These are, in fact, the men to give body and shape to our nebulous ideas. What a pity that all this accumulated official experience of the country should go to seed? But, if we want to utilise this and other advantages, we must come down from our stilts, must do the day's work daily, must invite co-operation from all sources, must encourage criticism—in short, become a body of practical workers.

As to the work of the Congress in England, my friendly advice, given years ago, seems to stand good. What is the use of a separate publication which cannot possibly interest the British public at large? It would be better to get one of the leading London or provincial dailies to open an "Indian Section," to be taken charge of by the present editorial staff of *India*. The saving in expense would be considerable, and Indian questions would be widely noticed even by

Englishwomen who read the daily. Women are a factor in English political life. We must engage their sympathy. We must also keep two or three paid delegates in England. Such, in brief, is my view of the position. But I may be wrong. No Congress leader is bound to be influenced by this or that particular view. I have nothing to say against your motives or objects. If I have said anything harsh or unjust to you, I am sorry for it. Our ideals of politics and public life may differ. But, after all, the difference is one of opinion rather than of aim. You seem to think—and as men of the world you have herein the advantage of me—that what is unreal to-day will become real to-morrow, that the substance will somehow grow out of the shadow. To me such a process of evolution looks as likely as the drawing of solar heat from the cucumber. If I am wrong, I shall be grateful for correction. But in the meantime, whilst you act up to your own opinion, won't you let me act up to mine? With your leave, gentlemen, I have now tried to do this.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

**The Dream of
an Indian King.**

The modern evolutionist places the golden age in the future : the ancient myth-maker assigned it to the past—a past which might be reproduced in some distant future. If the latter erred, his error was not always mischievous ; for it held up before him a realised and hence a realisable ideal which he might endeavour to approach with greater confidence than the uncertain future of the evolutionist. It was a brave boy that carried the motto of “ *Excelsior !* ” on his standard, and pity did not melt the Alpine snows. The experienced villagers were more cautious and safe. The past is always taken to be our safest guide ; and if we have no true recorded past nor the courage and understanding to build a vaguely conceived future upon it, an imagined past may serve as a useful substitute. The retrospection that appeals fondly to an imagined reality may pace the future with a hope which the uncertainty of a reasoned prospect may not inspire. A complacent conviction in a perfect present is a more serious impediment to progress than an amiable error regarding a perfect bygone age. Hence we may look with a kindly eye upon that pessimism which sighs for a glory that is no more. The text of the present note is a story which the Buddhists relate about a remarkable dream of the King of Kosala. It was a bad dream, and in accordance with the advice of Brahman priests, the King made elaborate preparations to offer sacrifices at a place where four roads met, to avert the impending calamity to his kingdom. It often happened in those days that while the husband remained a conservative follower of the Brahmins, the wife boldly avowed her sympathy with the teachings of Buddha—a significant fact which may be carefully pondered over by reformers of our day who seek refuge behind the petticoat. Queen Mallika was a devoted and munificent

patron of the Buddhists : in her garden was erected a lecture-hall where ladies as bold as herself congregated in the afternoons to listen to the preachings of the Blessed One and his disciples. Mallikā advised her husband to go and consult the "Master-Brahman" of the Sakya clan, and the advice was followed. Buddha listened to the terrified monarch calmly and composed his fears by assuring him that the evils foreboded by the dream would not come to pass in his time but in a remote future. The King had seen sixteen visions in his dream, and one after another was interpreted. They fall under two heads—those that boded social evils, and those that presaged political degeneracy. In one vision "tiny trees and shrubs burst through the soil, and when they had grown scarce a span or two high, they flowered and bore fruit." Buddha's interpretation was : "This dream shall have its fulfilment in days when the world has fallen into decay and when men are short-lived. In times to come the passions shall be strong ; quite young girls shall go and live with men, and they shall conceive and bear children." In another vision a man, sitting on a bench, was weaving a rope, and as he wove he threw it down at his feet. Under the bench there lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope, but without the man knowing it. Buddha interpreted the dream as portending the advent of an age when men would be toiling like that rope-maker, but women would give themselves up to pleasures and extravagance : "aye, they shall pound up the very seed-corn that should be sown on the morrow so as to provide good cheer." It is easy to perceive that these prophecies must have been prophecies after the event. In other words, when this story was invented the practice of early marriage had already become established, and that cynical distrust of feminine virtue which asceticism breeds had already become a marked feature of Indian social philosophy. The exact date of the genesis of such a story cannot be fixed, but it must certainly have been reduced to writing before Mahomed was born, and hence it, like some of the later Smritis, disposes of the erroneous, but unfortunately somewhat too common, belief which ascribes the prevalence of early marriage among the higher classes in India to the insecurity of honour and liberty that obtained during the Mahomedan period. This theory is *prima facie* improbable for a variety of reasons, one of which is that it does not account for the system of enforced widowhood : for

surely, women-lifters would not spare widowed maidens of seventeen while carrying away girls of seven ! But argument is set at rest by record, which places it beyond all doubt that woman's position had degenerated in India before the advent of Mahomedans. Indeed, the dream of the King of Kosala, as interpreted by Buddha, throws light on the cause of woman's downfall: it was that pessimistic view of human depravity which ascetic philosophy always fosters. It is not that the ascetic moralist wished to teach that woman was by nature more wicked than man. He addressed his discourses to men, and in painting woman black, his real object was to warn them against a temptation the objective of which was woman. If the moralist had written for the guidance of women, he would with equal bitterness have inveighed against the deceitfulness and animality of masculine human being. The history of Indian society has its parallel in the history of Europe. "In Rome girls were educated in the same way as boys, they were taught by the same learned slaves, they read the same books, they studied just as the boys did the great classical writers; and often acquired a taste for literature which continued through life. The plebeian girls went to schools in Rome which were frequented by boys and the two sexes were brought up together . . . But this emancipation of women was accompanied by a decay of morals and by a general license of life which resulted partly from the emancipation itself, partly from the materialism which prevailed, and partly no doubt from the prevalence of pagan cults, at once mystic and licentious, in which women as priestesses took a leading part. It was probably for this reason that very early in the history of the Christian church there was apparent a tendency to repress women as far as their position in the world was concerned, and to find an exalted place for them only in the religious life." Evidence is not wanting that in India, too, the popularity of the ascetic ideal was preceded by a state of society from which the tendency to repress woman—for man could not be repressed—was a natural and inevitable reaction. The records extant do not, indeed, describe the state of society generally, but the manner in which certain festivals were celebrated, the incidents described in early folklore, the regulations laid down in the Shastras to prevent certain social evils—all furnish unmistakable indications of a period of Indian history when wealth and worldly prosperity had sown the seeds of moral decay

and when the lofty ethical teachings of the ascetic philosophers—whether of the Buddhist, Jain or the Brahmanical school—were as much in demand as the precepts of Jesus were in Europe. The remedy, which must, no doubt, have been adopted gradually and unconsciously, and not at the dictation of a single lawgiver, succeeded only too well: it promoted moral conduct at the expense of moral freedom; it produced not only the moral Hindu, but also the mild Hindu. The explanation invented in our own day, that a girl is married early so that she may as early as possible study the idiosyncracies of her mother-in-law and other members of her husband's household, would appear to be an after-thought. The explanation attributed to Buddha centuries ago is likely to be nearer the truth.

The very first vision beheld by the King related to famines, which shows that the economic condition of the agricultural classes, which causes so much anxiety to us now, was equally lamented in days of yore. Four black bulls came from the cardinal directions into the royal court-yard with apparent intent to fight, and a great crowd gathered to witness the bull-fight; the bulls roared and bellowed, but ran away without fighting. It meant, said Buddha, that the clouds shall gather from the four quarters as if for rain; the women shall carry indoors the rice and crops spread out in the sun to dry; the men shall go forth, spade and basket in hand, to bank up the dykes; the thunder shall bellow, the lightning shall flash; but the clouds shall disperse without a drop of rain falling. If custom really limited the State's demand of the land and other taxes, there were princes who honoured that custom only in the breach. Yet another vision was interpreted to mean: "Kings shall be fierce and cruel, amassing wealth by crushing their subjects like sugar-cane in a mill and by taxing them even to the uttermost farthing. Unable to pay the oppressive tax, the people shall flee from village and town and take refuge upon the borders of the realm; the heart of the land shall be a wilderness while the borders shall teem with people, even as in the vision the water was muddy in the middle of the pool and clear at the margin." Very little tax can be got out of a wilderness, and no ruler would be so foolish as to persist in a policy which in the long run was bound to deplete his treasury and endanger his position. Yet it would be doing no violence to probabilities to infer from the story of

the Great Dream that oppressive taxation was not uncommon, indeed that it was as common as failure of rains or too early marriages. The apologists of the British Government repel the charge of excessive taxation by comparing it with taxation under Mahomedan rulers, because Mahomedan writers have preserved certain records of revenue administration which are accessible to the general reader, while the system of administration prevalent before the Mahomedan period has to be inferred by laborious deduction from casual hints in a mass of literature which only the antiquarian has the patience to attack. But a little reflection will at once suggest the doubt whether low taxation is compatible with a polity where Kings innumerable, in feudal subordination to one another, wish to maintain their courts in oriental magnificence, and are at frequent war with each other; and the revenue is collected not by a well-organised department worked economically and under proper supervision, but by the system of farming. Religion makes no difference: Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian would alike be compelled under such a system to take the uttermost farthing from the ryot. A vigilant and hard-working monarch might reduce the evil to its minimum limit, but the evil was bound to exist. The rulers would not be safe on their thrones, and as a matter of fact they were not. In interpreting another vision of the King of Kosala, Gautama Buddha said, "Kings shall arise who shall know nothing about the management of elephants and other warlike arts, and shall be cowards in the field. Fearing to be deposed and cast from their royal estates, they shall raise to power not their peers, but their footmen, bath attendants, barbers and such-like. Thus, shut out from royal favour and unable to support themselves, the nobles shall be reduced to dancing attendance upon the upstarts." These were no doubt prophecies after the fulfilment. If the inventor of the story had lifted up his voice against the current social customs, or against the maladministration of any particular monarch, he would most probably have paid a penalty which reformers have so often and so nobly paid in the history of the world. The mild monk in his secluded cell trod a less heroic path. He put the condemnation of present evils into the mouth of a great prophet of old whose word was sacred, and whose rebuke no one dared to challenge. Would any one be so bold as to deny the fact of Buddha's prophecy? On what better

evidence would he affirm any of the other facts of the Tathagata's life in which the whole Buddhist world believed ?

It is unfortunate that the dream stopped with the period in which its pessimistic inventor lived. His object was to create dissatisfaction in men's minds with the contemporary degeneracy and to turn their attention to a happier and more exemplary past. Discontent is the first step in progress, but it is not the last. Would a time arrive when the period of moral depression and decay would in its turn give place to another when the faded past would reappear in all its departed glory ? The ascetic teacher did not in this dream think it necessary to surround the cloud with a silver lining. He very probably did look forward to a millennium when Gautama would reincarnate as Maitreya and when the world would have undergone a complete physical and moral renovation. But that far-off prospect would not tend to make the realisation of the present depravity any the keener : possibly it might produce a contrary effect, and the gratification of a rectified future might blunt the edge of present discontent : the dazzling light in the distance might blind the vision to nearer objects. So the dream stopped with the evils. But we live in an age when the shadow of Rahu has begun to recede. An appeal to vanished greatness would be happy in so far as it might tend to extend our horizon to the limits which were assigned to it hundreds of years ago, but our eyes have been opened to a still wider horizon : it embraces not merely the East but also the West. Our visions would have been interpreted by the Buddha as forecasting an age even more glorious than the King of Kosala knew.

Idly as thou, in that old day
Thou mournest, did thy sire repine.
So, in his time, thy child grown grey
Shall sigh for thine.
But life shall on and upward go ;
Th' eternal step of Progress beats
To that great anthem, calm and slow,
Which God repeats.

CURRENT EVENTS.

INDEBTEDNESS has from time immemorial been one of the ills that have afflicted the poor peasantry of India. The Mahabharata recommends loans of seed on the part of Government. The money-lender has always been an important member of the village community. A ballad of the Mahrattas describes how the twelve thousand men whom Tanaji Maloosre had summoned for an attack on Singhur had scarcely received their dole when they cried out,

The hungry shepherds will not cease,
Our wives and homes to vex and fleece :
Thy silver's glitter scarce we saw,
It went to fill the usurer's maw.

The British Government has been striving hard to emancipate the poor ryot from the clutches of the sowcar, while acknowledging that the money-lender is a useful member of society so long as he treats his debtor with honesty and leniency. In several provinces the right of the peasant-proprietor to transfer his interest in land has been taken away from him. The Government has been trying to popularise its own *takavi* advances, but not with that amount of success which one could wish; and the Irrigation Commission, having fully investigated the causes, has made several recommendations as to how the ryots may be induced to avail themselves more largely of the opportunities afforded by Government. But as the Famine Commission of 1901 has observed, "Government cannot possibly finance all the cultivators of a district, still less of a province;" then again, there are artisans and other men of limited means—all of whom would be vastly benefited by a system of co-operative credit such as is in force in some of the European countries. The Madras Government deputed Mr. Nicholson to study the systems of agricultural banking in vogue in Europe and the report drawn up by him is acknowledged on all hands to be "a monument of research and a perfect storehouse of information." About the same time Mr. Dupernex also published a volume on "Peoples' Banks for Northern India." Inquiries made it clear that the principle underlying the Raiffeisen system is not really foreign to the thoughts of the people, and the difficulty lay in inducing rural communities to

apply it to their affairs. Local Governments were consulted and their opinions were considered in 1901 by a Committee under the presidency of Sir Edward Law, and the draft Bill prepared by that Committee was again referred to Local Governments. After so much of study, discussion, criticism and consultation, the Government of India has at last decided upon the action to be taken.



At the meeting of the Governor-General's Council on the 23rd of last month, the Honourable Sir Denzil Ibbetson introduced a Bill to provide for the constitution and control of Co-operative Credit Societies. "Constitution and Control! Is that what we have been missing all these years?" the impatient critic may ask. Assuredly not; the main difficulty is to bring into existence the institutions which have to be controlled. Sir Anthony Macdonnell's Commission suggested the formation of "Organisation Societies," whose objects should be to promote the knowledge of the principles of co-operative banking, to organise and supervise village banks, and to grant advances to the banks under their supervision. But who is to organise these societies? It would appear that without the initiative of the officers of Government it would take a very long time before a spontaneous movement sprang up among a people so little accustomed to move out of their old grooves. As Sir Denzil Ibbetson said in introducing the Bill, "it is abundantly clear that no real advance will be made without the active encouragement and assistance of Government. We propose, therefore, to ask Local Governments to select a few places in each province in which to try the initial experiments. An important element in the choice is the personal character of the District Officer. It is he who must give the first impulse; he must explain the new law and preach the new gospel." The Registrar who will be appointed for audit and inspection will also in the first instance teach and help.



The difficulties in the way of persuading poor ryots, with little or no education, to band themselves into mutual credit associations are indeed so great that Sir Edward Law's Committee put forward an alternative or parallel proposal, namely, to encourage sowcars to lend on low rates of interest by the offer to them of certain privileges in connection with their transactions and the recovery of their loans. But the Government does not aim at perpetuating a system which makes the ryot dependent on the sowcar: the object of the Bill is to "encourage thrift, self-help, and co-operation." The co-operative societies may, if they find it necessary, borrow from the sowcars in their collective capacity, but they must do so with the sanction of the Registrar and the Collector. But the Govern-

ment also is willing to lend a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,000 to a single society. Co-operative societies are divided into two classes, rural and urban. The former will consist of ten or more agriculturists residing in the same town or village or in the same group of contiguous villages; the latter of ten or more artisans or persons of limited means residing in the same town or village. In a rural society the liability of the members will be unlimited; in an urban society it will be either unlimited or limited by shares. In the former case all profits belong to the society; in the latter one-fourth of the profits in each year shall be carried to a reserve fund. An urban society may lend to a rural society: with this exception no society is to lend save to its own members. A rural society may lend on the security of agricultural produce: otherwise the loans are to be granted on personal security. In addition to monetary advances and the services of the Collector and the Registrar, the Government makes certain special concessions to these associations, such as priority to other creditors in respect of their claims against members, non-liability of the interest of a member in the capital to attachment under a decree or order of a Court of Justice, exemption from income-tax, stamp-duty and registration-fees, and certain other privileges. To prevent speculators acquiring a dominant interest in a society, it is proposed that no member of a rural society is to hold more than 250 rupees and of an urban society more than 1,000 rupees, nor can an individual member's share exceed one-tenth of the capital. The general law for the whole of India having laid down certain principles, the Local Governments are empowered to make such other rules as they may deem suitable for the special circumstances of each province.



Another Bill introduced in the Legislative Council on the same day possesses interest of a different kind—it is not to promote present happiness, but to preserve relics of past greatness. How much of the veneration that the name of India inspires is due to her ancient monuments and archæological treasures! Antiquities are a national asset: Greece and Italy preserve it with the strictest jealousy. It appears that in Greece the law declares antiquities possessed by private persons to be national property. In Italy the owner of an old picture cannot sell it, nor can any antique or artistic object be taken out of the country, without the permission of Government. In India, as Sir Denzil Ibbetson observed, "every traveller must have been struck with the frequent sight of buildings of the greatest beauty or interest or both, crumbling to decay, simply because nobody is interested in their preservation. Nor is the injury always merely passive. In 1899 some foreigners visited one of the ancient capitals of Burma, and not content with removing detached objects of interest, chiselled from the walls unique

tiles and frescoes illustrative of events in the life of Buddha, many of which they destroyed in the process, but some of which they succeeded in carrying to Europe." The Bill introduced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson has for its object "to preserve to India its ancient monuments, to control the traffic in antiquities, and to prevent the excavation by ignorant or unauthorised persons of sites of historic interest and value." Legislation for this purpose was proposed in Lord Elgin's time, but before any definite step could be taken Lord Curzon was installed on the *gadi*. Every student of Indian affairs knows the deep interest and the zealous pride which Lord Curzon has evinced in the antiquities of this hoary dependency of Great Britain. He has spoken about them in speeches throbbing with "pulse and passion": he has avowed his love and veneration for India for their sake. The Bill provides for Government undertaking the management of ancient monuments transferred to it voluntarily, and for compulsory acquisition of them as under the Land Acquisition Act by paying compensation, when the owners do not come to terms. Traffic is prohibited not only in Indian antiquities but also in those of neighbouring countries whose archaeological possessions the Governor-General may wish to save from vandalism, and therefore importation of antiquities from such countries is prohibited. The difficulty of proving the origin of the imported article and the inexperience of the officers who have to detect smuggling, in archaeological matters, may in most cases reduce the law in this respect to a dead letter. But if the neighbouring countries will not care for their antiquities, we need not be anxious about them, unless there be a near prospect of those countries becoming part of our possessions!



By the departure home of Sir Walter Lawrence, the Viceroy loses an ideal Private Secretary and the official world a distinguished public servant, though in consequence of his cryptic existence a Private Secretary may be regarded by some as the Tortoise that sustains the world rather than as an actor on its open stage. Sir Walter seems to have been not only a coadjutor and ally to H. E. the Viceroy, but also a comforter in his lonely sufferings under the lash of public criticism—a carrier of oriental balm as well as of the cruse of oil to which His Excellency referred humorously at the farewell dinner given by him to his retiring second self. The world does not know much of the contribution that a Private Secretary makes to the success of his Chief's administration, but even if he did little more than to keep an eager soul in placid temper, it was a service to the country which cannot be forgotten.



Dr. Macarthur, who has retired from the Bishopric of Bombay, is not a stranger to the readers of this journal. Belonging to a

profession which, the lay administrator has often complained, is apt unintentionally to sow the seeds of discord and animosity between the East and the West, he showed how it was possible even for the Christian clergy to draw the hearts of the non-Christian subjects of His Majesty. The secret of the moral consolidation of races is Integrity—be it spiritual or political. Intolerance is a weak chain in the armour of a religious man : he who respects his own spiritual liberty respects that of others.



The only attitude that one can at present take up towards Mr. Balfour's re-formed Cabinet is one of agnosticism : there are so many budding statesmen in it that no predication about their management of the Empire's affairs can be usefully ventured upon. Mr. Brodrick is a Secretary "with a past," and unfortunately that past happened to cause considerable irritation in the country over whose destiny he is to preside. The repentance which was perceptible in the closing scene of the agitation over the South African garrison scheme may have burnt up the *karma* acquired at the War Office, and none of it may cling to his soul at the India Office. If so, he may make a better Secretary for India than he was too hastily pronounced to be for War.

